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" The Tempter saw his time; the work he ply'd;
 " Stocks and Subscriptions pour on ev'ry side,
 " Till at last the Dæmon makes his full descent
 " In one abundant show'r of cent per cent;
 " Sinks deep within him, and possesses whole,
 " Then dubs DIRECTOR, and secures his soul."—POPE: Epi. III.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.—In page 212 the reader will have seen, upon this subject, a letter from a correspondent, who takes the signature of A. Z. That letter was written by way of comment upon my defence of a proposition (see page 97) for the reducing of the interest upon the national debt, and for adopting such measures as would, in a very short time, have annihilated all demands upon the public on the part of that description of persons who are called public creditors. This correspondent is an opponent, of whom one need not be ashamed. His arguments have considerable merit in them, and are well and fairly urged. Still, however, I think, it will be found, upon examination, that they leave my principles unshaken, and that no great deal will need to be said in order to convince the reader, that, after trial, those principles are sound and just.—But, unwilling as I am to be, for a moment, drawn off from this examination, there is an opponent of quite another description, of whom I must first of all take some notice. Allusion is here made to an article, which appeared in the *Courier* newspaper of the 14th instant. The main object of the writer appears to be, to cause it to be believed, that the sentiments published by me, relative to the fate of the funds, proceed from the instigation of Mr. Windham, and, that as these sentiments are greatly dangerous in their tendency, it is greatly dangerous that Mr. Windham should be a cabinet-minister. This conclusion would be just enough, were not the premises false. But, in the first place, the dangerous tendency of my sentiments is a position which should have been proved by a refutation of my arguments, and not assumed without any attempt to effect such refutation; and, secondly, with regard to my publications upon this subject proceeding from the instigation of Mr. Windham, the fact is entirely false, and the falsehood is uttered with a perfect knowledge of its being a falsehood, as the reader must remember,

that I have, all along expressly declared, that the opinions upon the subject of the funds are my own. In spite, however, of these repeated declarations, this candid gentleman infers the exact contrary, and the facts, whence his inference is drawn, are, first, that, when in 1803, Mr. Windham was, in a like spirit of candour, charged, in the House of Commons, with being the instigator of my publications, he "refused to disavow the fact." But, surely, this might have been fairly attributed to his disdain at the falsehood of the imputation, and not to his consciousness of its truth. The other fact, is, the *Political Register* is entirely devoted to Mr. Windham; that, "it addresses itself to the promotion of his views, to the flattery of all his passions, animosities, and even eccentricities," which is instanced, particularly, in its having, "though strictly a political paper, lately descended to defend the practice of boxing, because Mr. Windham is an admirer of it." Now, as to the real merits of the case, what matters it whence arguments proceed, so that they be good and irrefutable? And, that the arguments made use of by me in favour of boxing are such, is tolerably well proved by the fact, that no one has ever attempted to answer them with any thing but canting or abusive declamation. To those who confine the epithet *political* to the manœuvring of parties and the intrigues of a court, or who extend it, at the utmost, not beyond the circles of Whitehall and the Diplomatic Body; to such persons, those customs, which have an influence upon the minds and manners of the people, must, to be sure, seem of a nature not at all political. But, to those, and, I trust the number of them is very great, who take a wider range of thought, and whose minds penetrate more deeply into the sources of national character and national power, discussions relative to a practice, so intimately connected with that character and that power, will, surely, not be thought uncongenial to the nature of

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a Political Register. And, moreover, the fact, which this writer assumes, and on which he proceeds, is here, again, totally false; for, though it would be perfectly natural in me to imbibed opinions from the expression of those of Mr. Windham, and, having so imbibed them, it would be perfectly proper in me to defend them; yet, the truth is, that my opinions, either upon the subject of boxing or of bull-baiting, were not so imbibed; and, I can, at any time, produce proof, that, being at a dinner, the second or third day after my return to England, when Mr. Windham's speech, the day before made in parliament upon the subject of bull-baiting was criticised, I declared myself to be of his opinion, and avowed, that, at Philadelphia I had always assisted at, and encouraged, bull-baits. This was before I had spoken to, or had the most distant notion of ever having the honour of speaking to, Mr. Windham. Say, then, if you will, that this congeniality of sentiment was cause instead of effect; say that, out of it, first arose that respectful attachment which I have constantly discovered towards that truly enlightened statesman, and, assuredly, I need not seek to trace it to a more honourable source; but do not produce it as a mark of servility; be not so unjust as to ascribe it to a base devotion to his will, when every man who has been a constant reader of my writings, and who knows any thing of the state of parties and of the feelings of the great actors upon the scene, must be convinced, that, in very many instances, my opinions and my views have not accorded with those of Mr. Windham; to which I will, however, frankly add, that, where they have not so accorded, I have, in the end, generally found the error to be with myself. No: I have never been the servile tool of Mr. Windham; his nature abhors servility; and, I repeat my former declaration, that he has never attempted to remonstrate very earnestly with me, except in behalf of those whom I regarded as his foulest enemies.—

In returning to the subject of the funds, I shall, previous to making any remark upon the article in the *Courier*, insert, according to my usual custom, the article itself. Not the whole of it, indeed; for this gentleman plies me, in the course of his six days, with not less than thirty of his columns; columns, the *whole* of which, in the sinking state of this vehicle of Ward's and Huskisson's Bulletins, are not read, I should suppose, by above thirty readers; a supposition which will need little to corroborate it, when the following specimens have been produced.

—“A pretty story about two widows is

“given, equally false, ignorant and malicious. It is said, supposing twenty years ago two widows had each 10,000*l.* One of them a frugal, prudent lady, lays out her money in land for which she obtains but 3 per cent.; the other, a dashing dame, lays it out in the funds, for which she obtains 5 per cent.; (five is not always to be had.) At the end of the twenty years, the landed lady has spent but 6000*l.* while the funded lady has spent 10,000*l.* The conclusion drawn is, that the funded lady has no such claims to protection on the State as the landed lady. Now what is the fact? The funded lady's property has not at all improved, while the landed lady's has probably doubled in value. The one, by selling her land and buying into the funds, can have 1,000*l.* per annum, while the other must remain with her 500*l.* only, all the necessities of life being enormously increased in price. In such a case the fundholder is to be pitied, the landholder envied. The proprietors of lands and houses fatten on the distresses of the times, while the fundholders suffer. Almost all landholders, who are not immediately prevented by leases, advance their rents to pay the property tax, for instance, and annually increase them as taxes and commodities rise. But what relief has the stockholder? None. He goes on, year after year, his income reduced, and reduced by the advance of commodities. One thousand per ann. is not now worth more than 600*l.* twenty years ago. The fundholder is in fact the only sufferer by the public distresses. Landlords, tradesmen, and mechanics have all increased their incomes in proportion to the increased expense of living. The interest paid on the national debt is not, perhaps, more at this moment than it was twenty years ago, with relation to the price of commodities, though nominally it is double; and this may explain how it is that the large amount is so easily paid. But for all this it is the fundholder and the fixed annuitant, such as a mortgagee, that suffers. Every new loan raised for the state, ultimately and absolutely comes out of their pockets. And shall we be told that these persons, whose property is daily eaten up by the wants of the nation, should be robbed of the remainder? The suggestion is most cruel and atrocious. Let not the landed proprietors be flattered with the notion that their lands would be secure if the funds were swept away, or that their rents would be larger. The same feeling in

“ the landed proprietors of France produced
 “ the revolution. The nobles would not
 “ pay taxes to defray the interest of the na-
 “ tional debt. The funds went, and the
 “ lands followed. The French Monarchy
 “ fell with the funds; the French nobles
 “ fell also. Why are such libels on the
 “ faith of Parliament, such attacks on the
 “ property of the subject, suffered to pass?
 “ Persons have been punished for saying the
 “ king should be destroyed, the parliament
 “ should be destroyed, the land should be
 “ divided, &c. and why are doctrines so
 “ truly, so systematically revolutionary, suf-
 “ fered to pass with impunity? The fund-
 “ ing system is still sound and salutary,
 “ though somewhat feeble from having been
 “ so rapidly drawn upon. It should be eased
 “ a little by raising the whole, or nearly
 “ the whole, of the supplies within the
 “ year. The sinking fund is making rapid
 “ advances towards the extinction of the
 “ debt. Never was there a time when the
 “ country would bear burthens more pa-
 “ tiently than the present, because it is sa-
 “ tisfied of the justice and unavoidable ne-
 “ cessity of the war. Ministers have no
 “ clamorous opposition to dread to inflame
 “ the people and paralyze the efforts of go-
 “ vernment.”—Taking these assertions
 (for they are very little better) in the order
 in which they present themselves, the first
 thing to observe, is, that this writer pre-
 sumes, that the lands of the country are *not*
let on lease, and, of course, that the owner
 has, at the end of every year, or on any
 day, the power to raise his rent to meet the
 effects of the depreciation of money. But,
 is this true; and, if it were generally true,
 how alarming would be the consequences!
 The several surveyors, employed by the
 Board of Agriculture, and paid out of the
 taxes of the nation, have represented, in-
 deed, that it is fast becoming the custom of the
 land-owners to refuse to grant leases, and to
 hold the cultivators as tenants at will; a cus-
 tom, say they, which, in the proportion
 that it obtains, deadens industry, diminishes
 the produce of the soil, lessens, in a nation-
 al view, the value of the land, and reduces
 the farmer to a mere wretched dependent
 upon the will of his landlord; and, observe
 well, this terrible evil, these deep-sighted
 gentlemen ascribe to the caprice, the unac-
 countable prejudice, and the hard-hearted-
 ness of the landlords. Against these heavy
 charges the *Courier* does, I think, furnish
 the land-owners with a tolerably complete
 defence, by shewing, that, if they do let
 leases, they throw away, in consequence of the
 depreciation of money, nearly one half of

their incomes. This is a subject worthy of
 the most serious attention of the govern-
 ment. The effect, here spoken of, of the
 depreciation of money, arising from the
 funding system and its paper of all sorts, is
 one of the great evils, against which we
 have now to contend; or, rather, of which
 we have to get rid; for, while the funding
 system remains, it is utterly impossible to
 overcome, or even to check it. But, all this
 belongs to a separate question, and has no-
 thing at all to do with the question arising
 out of my comparison of the two widows,
 which, as the reader will see, supposes the
 landed widow to have *let a lease of her land*
 twenty years ago; and, as it is evident, that
 her rent depreciated in the same degree that
 the annuity of the fund-holding lady depre-
 ciated, it must also be evident that my ar-
 gument is not at all impaired by the produc-
 ing of any circumstance relating to the de-
 preciation of money. If I am told, that,
 at the expiration of the lease, the landed
 widow may raise her rent; or, that she
 might have kept the land in her own hands;
 or, that she might have let it by the year, or
 the month: if I am told this, I answer, that
 the gambling lady might have left off in
 time; or, that she might have bought in
 low; or, that she might have sold out high.
 We are not to talk of what may have, or
 might have, happened, in the last twenty
 years; but, of what has, upon a general
 view, taken place.—We are next told,
 that, in consequence of the depreciation of
 money, 1,000l. now, is not worth more
 than 600l. was worth twenty years
 ago; and, therefore, that, as the
 nominal rate of interest paid upon the
 amount of the national debt continues the
 same that it was twenty years ago, “ the
 “ total amount of interest paid upon the
 “ debt, is not, perhaps, in relation to the
 “ price of commodities, more than it was
 “ twenty years ago, though, nominally, it
 “ be double.” We will, if you please, Sir,
 leave out the “ perhaps” in a statement like
 this, particularly when the statement be
 made in answer to an argument, which you
 have represented as “ ignorant, false, and
 “ malicious.” I not only allow that money
 has depreciated in the degree which you say
 it has, but, I will go further, and say, be-
 cause I can prove it, and, indeed, have
 proved it, that money has, since the time
 referred to, depreciated *one half*; and, of
 course, that 1,000l. now is not worth more
 than 500l. was twenty years ago. I shall,
 indeed, leave you to apply this to Mr. Pitt’s
 and old Rose’s boasting accounts of the in-
 crease of imports and exports, and in which

no allowance at all was ever made for depreciation of money. I take your statement, even with my addition to your degree of depreciation, and a very few words will shew against whom the charge of ignorance and falsehood and malice ought to be preferred. In 1784, when the late pretending projector took upon him the direction of the nation's concerns, the annual charge on account of the national debt was, to speak in round numbers, 9 millions; it is now 27 millions. Nominally, therefore, it is now tripled, instead of being doubled; and, as the depreciation is only in the degree of one half, the real annual charge on account of debt is now half as much again as it was twenty years ago. We are got out of our subject here; but, that is not my fault; and, as we have digressed, I will digress a little further, in order to remind you, that, this addition to the taxes on account of the debt has arisen, not in twenty years, but, in *thirteen* years; and that the depreciation of money, of which you speak, has arisen in the same time. This is said for the comfort of yourself and your "blood-sucking" employers, and by way of giving you a foretaste of that which is to come.—But, the land proprietors are told, that, if the funds were swept away, their lands would not be secure. "The same feeling in the landed proprietors in France produced the revolution. The nobles would not pay taxes to defray the interest of the national debt. The funds went, and the lands followed. The monarchy fell with the funds, and the French nobles fell also." That they all went together we know very well; but as to the *cause*, "as to the cause, good Japhet," we differ very widely in opinion. The nobles and others; in short, the people of France, were *unable* any longer to pay the full amount of the annual interest of their national debt, without submitting to such vexation and oppression as were beyond mortal endurance. There were Mr. Huskisson's and other clubs of the like philosophers, and many most famous bulletin-makers upon a grand scale. But the deficit in the finances was the grand cause; and, that deficit arose, not out of the want of will, but out of the inability to pay, without a submission to that which would have rendered life not worth preserving. The fund-holders, the "blood-suckers," hanging on like leeches; the government had not the courage to tear them off; an outcry just such as that set up by this writer, prevailed; the state went reeling on, buffeted on one side by the people, and on the other by the fund-holders; and, at last, down it came

never to rise again, an awful warning to all those nations who have been so unwise as to contract great public debts, and who have thereunto added the folly of acting upon the maxim, that, let come what will, the interest upon those debts is to be paid. The question in France was, "shall the nation destroy the debt, or the debt destroy the nation?" that is to say, the government and constitution; and such is, at this moment, the question in England; with this addition, however, as to the latter choice, that, the liberties, the independence, and the very name of England are at stake as well as the government and the constitution. Yes, yes; it is true enough, that the French monarchy and the French funds fell together; not, however, because the monarchy was supported by the funds, but because it was so foolish as to support them too long. They fell together as a man and his load fall together, the supporting, and not the throwing off, of the latter, being the cause of the falling of the former.—This is my opinion; and who does not apprehend similar, not to say much worse, consequences in England, if England does not, while yet there is time, throw off her intolerable load? And, shall those who warn her; those of her sons who yet dare to put up their voice for her preservation, be stigmatized as "*libellers*?" Libels, these are called, upon what? "Upon the faith of parliament!" Why, what I say is, that the faith of parliament is no more pledged for the continuation of the payment of the interest upon the national debt, than it was pledged for the payment of the Bank of England notes in specie; or than it is now pledged for the continuation of that famous project the Parish-army-bill. And, this is to libel the faith of parliament, is it? But, we are guilty of sedition, too, if not of treason. "Persons have been punished," we are gravely reminded, "for saying *the King* should be destroyed, *the parliament* should be destroyed, *the land* should be divided, &c." Ave, and very justly, too! When I make a proposition for destroying either king or parliament, I shall certainly not hope to escape punishment; and, as to *dividing the land*, why, you wiseacre, is not this the very thing that I am objecting to! Is it not a proposition, on the part of my correspondent, in page 47, for the seizing of the land and dividing it, that has given rise to this discussion? The fund-holders and their advocates are for dividing the land: they see that the taxes must very soon fail to produce a sufficiency wherewith to pay their dividends at the present rate, and, therefore, are they endeavouring to prepare

men's minds for a division of the land, to which I object; and, I am ready to join any one in calling for the vengeance of the law upon the heads of all such revolutionary incendiaries.—As a consolation at parting, we are assured, that “the funding-system, though somewhat feeble, from having been so rapidly drawn upon, is still sound and salutary.” We are told, “that the sinking fund is making rapid advances towards the extinction of the debt; and, that the funds should be eased a little by raising the whole, or nearly the whole, of the supplies within the year.” Comforting assurance! Profound remark! Judicious advice! As to the operation of the sinking fund, we have seen, that, in the space of twenty years, it has tripled the nominal amount of the annual taxes raised upon us on account of debt, and has added in the degree of one half to the real annual amount of the taxes raised upon us on account of debt. This is rapid enough, I think. Does this sagacious politician, this profound political economist want it to go on faster? What, then, in the name of all that is shallow and empty, does he want? But, the funding system is to be “eased;” and how? By raising the whole, or almost the whole, of the supplies within the year. Does this wise man bear in mind, that, last year, the taxes raised amounted to about 38 millions, and the expenditure to about 70 millions? And, if he does, does he besides think it possible to raise this year taxes nearly double in amount to the taxes raised last year? Away, away with all such dabblers and dreamers! Send them to Change Alley, or to Bedlam; but, let them not approach even the steps to the cabinet or the parliament. No! the present ministers have not come into place to hide the sins of the last. The last contracted the debt; and let those who supported them in it, and who lent them the money, be very well contented if their interest be not immediately stopped. A wise scheme indeed would it be in the present minister, to say nothing about its absolute impracticability, to squeeze the whole of the annual supplies out of the people, in order to avoid adding to, and thereby impairing the solidity of, the interest upon the national debt! On the contrary, not one penny of new tax ought they to lay on, other than that which will be necessary to pay the interest upon the money which they borrow. They ought, in fact, to have nothing at all to do with the old debt; or, they ought, at least, to distinguish it by some name different from the debt now to be contracted; they ought always to be able, in a moment,

to shew the state in which they found the concern. And, observe, that this was what the great reformer Pitt did, when he began those measures, which he boasted should cause his name to be inscribed upon the proud column about to be raised to public credit!—Having, and not, I think it will be thought, quite unnecessarily, occupied so much of the time of the reader with remarks upon this article in the *Courier*, I am compelled to defer an examination of the arguments of A. Z. till my next number. It would, moreover, be great injustice to him to couple his production with that of a stock-jobber's hireling; for, in no other light can I possibly view the person, whose at once feeble and malignant efforts I have here thought it right to expose.

THE ARMY.—Amongst the measures of the Pitts and Dundases, which it will be the duty of the present ministry to counteract, and the right of the present age and of posterity to hold in derision and contempt, is the famous Parish Bill; the system of sympathetic battalions, which that frothy declaimer, the late minister, brought forward as the grand restorative for the military character of the nation. The effect of this bill has been ludicrous as well as mischievous: it has done every thing that can or could be done by an act of parliament to prevent the accomplishment of that which was its main professed object. The reader has before seen the petition from Berkshire: that of the parish of St. Mary-la-bonne he shall now see. On the 18th instant was presented to the House of Commons, a petition of the noblemen, and the humble petition of others the vestrymen of the parish of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middlesex, setting forth, “that the number of men required to be raised in the said parish, under the provisions of an act of the 44th of his present majesty, intituled, an act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional Force for the Defence of the Realm, and to provide for augmenting his majesty's Regular Forces, and for the gradual Reduction of the Militia of England, amounted to two hundred and twenty-five; and, notwithstanding every endeavour had been made by the select vestry, churchwardens, overseers of the poor, and other official servants, it had been found impossible to procure a single man in the manner and upon the terms prescribed by the said act; and that the said parish had therefore become liable to the several fines imposed by the said act, and had consequently, on the 22d day of August last, been assessed in

“ the enormous sum of 4,500l. in respect of
 “ such deficiency, which, for the reason
 “ before given, in was not possible to avoid;
 “ and that the sum of 2000l. had been paid
 “ to the treasurer of the county of Middle-
 “ sex on account of the said penalties; and
 “ the petitioners have not been informed,
 “ nor do they believe that, since the said
 “ assessment, a man has been carried to the
 “ account of the said parish by the recruit-
 “ ing officer of the district in which the
 “ said parish is situate; and that, as the
 “ said act seems to have failed in its in-
 “ tended object in every respect, and to
 “ impose very heavy penalties upon persons
 “ without the possibility of their avoiding
 “ the same, the petitioners pray that the
 “ said act may be repealed.” — It is not
 only as to the *past* that this bill has been mis-
 chievous, but it must, of necessity be mis-
 chievous in the future. It has added to that
 disgust, which, from the ballot and other
 causes, the people already felt with regard
 to the army. But, however arduous the task
 must be, it must now be performed; I mean
 the task of forming an efficient and permanent
 military force; for, if it be not, this country
 will never again see one hour of *peace*, except
 under the sway of a conqueror. Men may
 whince and whine and fret and cry; but
 come to the forming of an army, or the sub-
 mission to a foreign yoke, they must.—Napo-
 leon has his eye fixed upon this part of our po-
 licy more than upon any other. He is now,
 not waiting indeed, for he never waits; but
 he is looking earnestly to see, what will be
 done with regard to an English army. He
 knows how many men we have; he knows
 the worth, the exact worth of every class of
 them; and his measures of invasion, or his
 terms of peace, will depend upon our mea-
 sures relative to the obtaining of a military
 force. No new-vamped, no half-measure,
 will do. The people expect something *quite*
 new; and any thing which is not so will be
 useless. The object of Napoleon, is, to
 make us give up our right of seizure at sea.
 In order to accomplish this, he will keep on
 the war, either till he is able really to invade
 us, or till we are absolutely exhausted by the
 expenses and vexations of our present mili-
 tary system. Will you give up your rights
 upon the seas? That would give you peace
 for about a year; but, that peace would be
 your last as an independent nation. Do not
 cry, then, Balaam; for, all that is wanted of
 you is an army; but, this army you never
 will have, while such wretches as you engross
 all advantageous privileges and marks of dis-
 tinction that are to be seen and enjoyed in
 society. Your rights and your honours, Ba-

laam, you may still enjoy, as long as the
 French will let you; but, blame not the
 people, honest Balaam, if they do not feel an
 inducement to shed their blood for your pro-
 tection, especially, if, by their military ser-
 vice, they lose all chance of acquiring any
 thing in society worthy of a struggle to pro-
 tect.—When one considers the anxiety of
 the public upon this score, it is by no means
 wonderful that rumours should get afloat as to
 the intentions of the ministry; but, as far
 as I am able to gather, every thing that has
 been a subject of conjecture in the newspa-
 pers is very wide, indeed, of the mark.
 There we meet with nothing but vulgar no-
 tions, which, like all the notions of Mr. Pitt,
 become only the more vulgar for being re-
 fined upon and overcharged with little devi-
 ces. The measure to be adopted, for a per-
 manent force, must be ONE. It must be
 simple. It must speak to the hearts of the
 people. It must attract their admiration,
 and engage their affections. And, for it to
 be all, or any one of these, we need not in-
 sist, that it must be *new*; that it must bear
 no resemblance to any thing that ever came
 from the school of Pitt.—This is the very
 first measure. On it will depend our fate.
 No peace can be thought of, until it be ac-
 complished. Without it, I repeat again and
 again, peace would last no longer than the
 Emperor of France saw his preparations
 ready for invading and subduing us. The
 finances, the tranquillity of Ireland, the se-
 curity of our colonies, our character upon
 the continent; every thing is trifling com-
 pared with the formation of an army; and,
 let it be remembered, that this army is not
 to be formed without new means. If Mr.
 Windham fall into the track of Mr. Pitt; if
 he has recourse to miserable expedients; if
 he do not, at once, bring forward a scheme
 adequate to the purpose in view, I do not say
 that I shall blame him; for, I am certain he
 will do his best; but, I shall be amongst the
 very first to say, that, as a war minister, he
 is not a man for these times; I shall say,
 that calamity, the worst of all calamity, must
 come, and I shall hope to be able to bear
 my share of it as well as other men.—
 To change the service to *term of years*, in-
 stead of for life, would produce some little
 effect; but not much. We are now too far
 gone to be restored by little means, means
 that might have been useful some time ago,
 but which would now only tend to create a
 belief, that we have no efficient means left.
 The indolence, the mere indolence, of pub-
 lic men; their repugnance to meet the diffi-
 culties of new circumstances, often produce
 the overthrow of states. I confidently hope,



that no such indolence will now prevail. I firmly believe that it will not. But, so anxious am I, in common with every thinking man in the country, upon the subject of the army, that I cannot refrain from urging the necessity of immediately and resolutely entering thereon. Those, if there be any such, who have taken possession of their places, at this time, with views of emolument, or of mere power, are unworthy of their trust. This is no time for entertaining any such views; and, if there be any one of them, who is unable to accomplish that which he contemplates for the good of his country, his first duty is to retire, and leave the others to try their useless projects. I apply this particularly to Mr. Windham; and I repeat, that, if he cannot do what he ought to do, his only honourable course is to retire. I am very far from supposing, that such will be the case; for, the circumstances under which the cabinet must now meet, appear to me to be of a nature to make them perfectly unanimous as to a new and efficient plan for forming and supporting an army. I look to them with great confidence; the people look to them with confidence; and I trust we shall not be disappointed.—In a subsequent page of this number I have inserted an article upon the subject of *Military Manœuvres*. The writer merits great commendation for his zeal; but, I must express my total disagreement with him as to all his notions respecting the utility of Volunteer Corps. Those bodies of men are, in my opinion, capable of producing nothing but mischief; and, I have no hesitation in saying, that however small the number of our regular army may be, the country would be much safer without Volunteer Corps than with them.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.—(Continued from p. 206). In a subsequent page of this present number, will be found, in an extract from the *Morning Chronicle*, some very judicious remarks upon the appointment, the extraordinary appointment, or rumoured appointment, of Sir George Barlow and others to the management of our affairs in India. In consequence of these remarks, an article, defending the appointment; an article evidently written, or caused to be inserted, by some interested person; some one deeply concerned in those transactions, in that country, which it is now the object of many to keep concealed from the public eye, and especially, to shelter from the investigation of parliament, appeared in the *Morning Post*. In addition to this article, another has appeared, in the same paper of

the 20th instant, justifying the assertions of the former, and, stating, that the Court of Directors have actually made the appointments in question. The latter article is as follows: "We are happy to find" (Remember, that, it is the same persons still writing, who wrote before; the editor of the paper merely assumes the statement for the pay he receives). "*We are happy to find, that the* " opinion we have all along held with respect to the propriety of confirming Sir " George Barlow in the government general of Bengal, has had its due weight in " the consideration of the Court of Directors, who yesterday came to a final determination upon this subject, and announced the following appointments, viz. Sir " George Hilario Barlow, Governor General, " Lord Lake, 2d in Council, and Commander in Chief, George Udney, 3d, and John " Lumsden, 4th in Council. The strictures " in our paper of Monday, on the very intemperate paragraph, which appeared in " another paper" (See the extract above referred to) " on the subject of India, were " strictly correct, except in one instance, " where it was stated, that 'the wars which " involved the expense charged upon the government of India, and the neglect of the " commercial department, attendant upon " these wars, were conceived to be absolutely necessary.' The fact is, that the " commercial department was never, for a " moment, neglected or overlooked. What " will those who have raised such a clamour, " about the investment say, when they are " informed, that in the year 1803-4, the " very year of our great struggle, which was " to decide whether the French and the " Mahrattas, or the English nation were to " be paramount in India? In that year the " investment for Europe, China, &c. " amounted to very nearly two millions and " a half sterling, an investment equal to, if " not exceeding, that of any former year of " peace; if, afterwards in the winding-up " the expenses of so important a war, some " diminution of the investment should take " place; if the India Company should be " disappointed for one season of the prodigious consignments which they expect, " they, who have reaped such extraordinary " advantages, may well submit to an occasional appropriation of a part of their " commercial funds, in order that the " stream may hereafter flow to them more " copious and secure. The deficiency, if " any has, or should occur, must be temporary. We are now invulnerable in the " East; all that remains to be done is to " consolidate our power, and turn to the best

"account that peace which has been the result of a glorious, wise, and honourable war."—One would like to take the several parts of this statement in their order of succession; but, really, it is quite impossible not, at once, to fasten upon this "glorious, wise, and honourable war." As to the glory of it, where, I would ask is the glory of over-running and plundering and subjugating countries, the inhabitants of which understand little or nothing of the art of European warfare, or who, at the very best, are but indifferently skilled therein, and are almost entirely unprovided with all other than the mere bodily means of carrying it on? The victories over them have never been regarded as victories by me, nor, I will venture to say, by any one Englishman, who has duly reflected upon the circumstances, under which they have been achieved. Let any one observe, the effect produced upon the public by the pompous accounts, published in our papers, relative to those victories, and then let him say, what is the degree of estimation in which they are generally held. They are, in fact, no victories at all. They are felt to be no victories; and, if the history of them should live for only a century, it will be read with feelings much about such as those which are excited at the reading of the "victories" of the Spaniards over the helpless and unoffending inhabitants of Mexico and Peru. —With respect to the "wisdom" of the wars in India, it might be enough to say, that they have been begun and continued in a direct, in an open, and daring violation, of a most positive and explicit declaration of parliament; but, besides this, we are now about to feel, nay we have already felt, that they have had no other tendency than that of adding to our financial embarrassments, of draining our country of men capable of bearing arms, and of sending to lord it in England, men who by plunder have grown rich, and by an unbridled use of power have grown intolerably insolent and oppressive. —Now, as to the fact (a fact in itself of little importance), whether these wars have, or have not, caused "the commercial department to be overlooked," one would naturally ask for proof of the assertion made by this writer; and, one would certainly conclude, that such proof is not furnished in the present state of the Company's affairs, which, as this writer himself seems to allow, are such as are likely to compel the Company to oblige the East India proprietors to "submit to an occasional appropriation of part of their funds, in order that the stream may hereafter flow to them more copious and secure." This, if I understand him

rightly, is, in other words, that the East India stock holders must now begin to submit to a reduction of their dividends; and, indeed, this is so very just and necessary, if the Company have not the means of paying them as heretofore, that I not only highly approve of it, but could wish to see the principle applied to certain other dividends, which, out of delicacy to the "blood-suckers and the muck-worms," I shall, for the present forbear particularly to designate. But, "the deficiency, if any has occurred, or should occur, must be temporary." Oh! by all means! Every failing tradesman's deficiencies are "temporary," at first; seldom, however, are they made up; and, this, I take it, will be the case with the East-India Company, if once a reduction should be made in the dividends; unless, indeed, the parliament can be induced to tax the nation for the purpose of making such deficiency good; than which, I will venture to declare myself able to prove, nothing was ever attempted more unjust or impolitic. —Why plague us with this jargon about investments and assets and the like? What are these nick-names to us? Why not answer the plain and simple charge of owing the public above 7 millions of money? Why do not the East-India Company tell us, when they intend to pay us this, with the interest thereon? We have already had squeezed out of us, the people of this kingdom, two millions of money to give to this East India Company for the purposes of paying their debts; when, at the same time, we should, instead of paying to them 2 millions, have received from them 7 millions. These are plain facts. This statement every body understands. Why is it not contradicted? Simply because it cannot. —With regard to the appointments above-mentioned, they are objectionable in many respects. Mr. Francis, if he be willing to go to India, should be the Governor General. He has the strongest claim to it of any subject of the King; and, which is more, the King and the country have a claim to his valuable talents and rare integrity, in that capacity. But, if he was to be excluded, why not send out some other man? Why leave India in the hands of those men, who have been so conspicuously instrumental in all that has taken place, for many years past, in that wretched country? Men stared at one another, and well they might, when the navy was shifted from the hands of Lord Melville to those of Lord Barham. If these appointments have really taken place, and should be sanctioned by his Majesty's ministers, the country will have a complete proof, that, as far as regards

India, no change of system is to take place; and, in that case, our hopes must again be placed upon the force of events. But, it were well not to forget, that events of force will not now lag on so slowly as they have heretofore. As the patient approaches the termination of his fatal disease death becomes quicker in the repetition of his attacks. A ministry of twenty years' duration has just been put an end to; but, foolish indeed must be the man that ever expects to see another of half that duration, unless it be supported by principles quite different from those which supported the last. The present ministry, if they were to continue the Pitt system of governing India, would make that system their own; would adopt it as their child; would become the patrons of all its vices; and would, of course, in reason and in strict justice, become responsible for all the consequences it might produce. I do not, however, say, or think, that they have adopted this system; and, I trust, they will not. But, I must think it extremely unwise for them to sanction appointments which may furnish but too fair a ground for suspecting that they have adopted it. Some man, if not Mr. Francis, some man not steeped in or stained by India connections, should now be sent out to that country. There would then be a ground for hoping, that a salutary change was about to take place; but, until then, no such hope can reasonably be entertained.

NEW APPOINTMENTS. — In the last number of the Register, page 195 it was stated, that Lord Grenville "has a large pension secured to him with a very competent reversion to Lady Grenville." This fact had been so often stated in the newspapers, without contradiction, that I took it upon trust. I am now assured, that there is no such provision for either; and, that the Auditorship is all that his Lordship has secured to him. For this error I have to apologize, both to his Lordship and to my readers; and, I do it with a degree of pleasure equal to the pain with which I made the former statement; because, though this circumstance does not remove the objection to the very extraordinary measure then complained of, it certainly does, as to the point of disinterestedness, materially alter the case. In nothing that I said of this most respectable nobleman, did I wish to lower him in the public estimation. I spoke of him as I thought, and as I still think; and, when it is necessary to disguise one's opinion of public men, it will be full as necessary to cease to write; for writing under such restraint, neither can produce, nor ought to

produce, any effect upon the public. Errors, particularly productions hastily sent to the press, all men are liable to fall into; and, in the present case, the error must prove advantageous to the party most deeply concerned, by bringing out a contradiction to an assertion which must have been greatly disadvantageous to him. — Upon the appointment of Mr. ALEXANDER DAVISON to be *Treasurer of the Ordnance*, I should have made some remarks; but, a correspondent, in a letter immediately below, has rendered it unnecessary, for the present at least, for me to say any thing more, than that I perfectly agree in all that he has said. He has said not less, perhaps, and not one word more than I myself would have said upon the subject if he had not said it.

NEW APPOINTMENTS.

SIR,—I have read your statements, respecting the new administration, with much interest. In addition to what you stated respecting the Lord Chief Justice having a seat in the cabinet, and the essential and never to be lost sight of difference between the judicial and executive functions of the state, permit me to offer, in corroboration of the impropriety of his being a cabinet minister, the supposed situation of the late Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, at the time of the disgraceful riots in the year 1780. Had his lordship then held a seat in the cabinet, will any one attempt to contend, that, even great, impartial, and clear as he undoubtedly was, in his high office, after having witnessed the burning of his house in Bloomsbury Square, and in it the law tracts, prepared with an unparalleled industry, and corrected and arranged by himself during a period of 40 years, by a lawless and desperate mob, acting under the misguided zeal and direction of a man, who was afterwards tried for his life before Lord Mansfield, in his judicial capacity: can it be imagined in the nature of things, that, under such circumstances, the human mind could divest itself of every tinge of partiality? On the contrary, so far is the principle recognised, that, by law, no judge can preside at any trial, touching any property whatever, in the county where he was born. Can it be supposed, that such a judge, even as my Lord Mansfield, after having experienced so grievous an injury; after having heard every argument that ingenuity and a knowledge of the laws of the realm could suggest, and the enlightened minds of his fellow cabinet ministers urge of the supposed guilt of the misguided delinquent, and the cogent reasons for his indictment and trial; can it, for a moment,

be entertained, that, under such circumstances, a judge must not, in some measure, be personally and ministerially biassed; and, being so, can, or ought, he to preside in judgment on the trial of such a delinquent? Had Lord Chief Justice Mansfield held a seat in the cabinet, he would have been placed in this novel and unheard of situation. —In addition to some other observations, respecting Lord Grenville and his office of auditor, &c. there are some minor arrangements, on which it is necessary to offer a few remarks; and among others, it appears, that ALEXANDER DAVISON is appointed Treasurer of the Ordnance of the United Kingdom, an office of great rank and respectability, and second to none in trust and responsibility. That very identical Alexander Davison was, till very lately, a prisoner in the King's Bench Prison, having been indicted, tried, and convicted, before the present Lord Chief Justice, for bribery and corruption of the worst and most extensive kind, at elections, and sentenced to imprisonment. That very Alexander Davison, so sentenced to imprisonment for bribery and corruption, is appointed to a place of the greatest trust and consideration in a pecuniary point of view. The sum voted for the service of the Ordnance last year was, if I mistake not, £3,600,000. Over that sum this convicted and imprisoned man has the entire order, management, and controul, and the only security required of him is two sureties in £5000 each!!! One should have thought that the circumstance of this man's being a banker, and lately, if not now, contractor for various articles for the army, would (exclusive of the bribery, corruption, and imprisonment) have been both strong against the deed of his appointment. If ever there was an appointment that challenged observation, it is this. That any ministry should confer such a distinguished situation in point of rank and emolument on a private banker or army contractor would certainly excite sentiments not very favourable, however fair and honourable the character of the conferee might be. But, to give it to these situations united and super-added to convicted bribery and corruption of the deepest dye, that of bribing and corrupting the very source of legislature itself, must excite, in the mind of every honest man, feelings which I will not attempt to describe. If this convicted and imprisoned briber and corrupter, with his own means, dared, in defiance of all law and morality, to turn the wretched instruments of venality to his own criminal and vile purposes, will his new appointment lessen those means, or

will his foul and guilty ambition have less whereon to feed itself? Will the receipt and direction of from 3 to 4 millions, work, in such a mind, a reform? Will it not, rather, extend those foul views and practices commensurately with the opportunity?—I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c.—A. B. Bath, 18th Feb. 1806.

APPOINTMENTS IN INDIA.

(*Extracted from the Morning Chronicle.*)

The repeated puffs published in some of the late ministerial newspapers, to exalt the character of some of the India Company's commercial servants in India, to whom the political government of that empire has, by the unfortunate death of Marquis Cornwallis, accidentally devolved, make it absolutely necessary to introduce those gentlemen to the public. Till now their names were hardly known, and their merits never heard of in this country. The persons we mean may be very honest gentlemen, and probably have sufficient skill, because they have had long experience in some of the lower departments of the Company's service, viz. —in the collection of a settled revenue, and in the provision of white cloths and piece goods. The names of these persons, now in possession of the Government of India, are Sir G. Barlow, Mr. Udney, and Mr. Lumsden. It is said, "that the high opinion that was before entertained of Sir G. Barlow, viz. by the Directors, is *strengthened and confirmed by his conduct since the death of the Marquis Cornwallis, whose Plans of Reform he has continued to carry into effect by all possible means.*" This meritorious conduct could only have acted and appeared in a very few days from the death of Lord Cornwallis to Sir G. Barlow's first letter to the Court of Directors, consequently the evidence of it is yet to be produced. On this subject, however, we have some questions to ask, which the friends of Sir G. Barlow would have done well not to provoke. How long has he been such a great favourite with the Court of Directors? The answer is, that by his uniform support of every principle and project of Lord Wellesley, he had incurred their highest indignation, and the more as he was *their special servant, and bound to their special service.* Is there a single act of Lord Wellesley's administration which this gentleman did ever oppose by protest, remonstrance, or opposition of any kind? If there be, let the fact be produced. It is not disputed, because it is a thing very likely to be true, that upon Lord Wellesley's being removed by Mr. Pitt, and Lord Cornwallis

being sent out to repair, if possible, some of the mischiefs of the preceding Administration—[and if he was not sent for that purpose, it is difficult to conceive why such a man, at the age of 68, should have been so employed and so sacrificed as it has been]—we say, it is not improbable that the said Sir G. Barlow, might suddenly have changed his note, and as suddenly have professed to reprobate the very principles, which he practically avowed during the whole period of Lord Wellesley's government; and on which he uniformly acted. The fact proves nothing, but his personal policy and his prudence, at the expense of some other qualities, which alone can entitle any man to esteem in private life, or to the confidence of the public. Mr. Charles Grant, the present worthy Chairman of the Court of Directors was educated under the Board of Trade at Calcutta. From an inferior station there, he was advanced, in process of time, to the superintendence of a commercial factory for the provision of white cottons, piece goods and indigo; and, in that line, it is but justice to him to declare, that the Company might not have a more skilful servant. Where he learned the science of a statesman, or how to govern an empire, does not yet appear. Mr. Udney was his Deputy at that factory. From that school and that station he was advanced to a seat in the Council to govern India. The vacancy, made by Lord Cornwallis's death, was instantly filled up by Mr. Lumsden, the Secretary, of whom nothing is known, good or evil. This arrangement, however, has, in the first instance, the iniquitous effect of superseding the just rights and claims of Mr. Thomas Graham, the Company's servant of 37 years standing, and in *his* person the authority of the Court of Directors.—This gentleman, in consequence of their repeated provisional appointments, has been in possession of a seat in the Council, has been removed by superior interest at home, and is now again superseded by Mr. Lumsden. These are the plain indisputable facts, without reflexion upon the character of any man; and this is the state in which it is proposed the government of India should be left.

AMERICAN FINANCE.

Official Report of the Revenue of the United States for the Year ending Sept. 30, 1805; together with the Estimates for the Year 1806.

REVENUE AND RECEIPTS.

The nett revenue arising from duties on merchandize and

tonnage, which accrued during the year 1801, amounted to, dollars - - - 12,020,279

The nett revenue arising from the same source, which accrued during the year 1802, amounted to - - - 10,154,564

That which accrued during the year 1803, amounted to - 11,306,430

And that which accrued during the year 1804, amounted, after deducting that portion which arose from the additional duties constituting the Mediterranean fund, as will appear by the statement (A) to 12,672,323

It is ascertained that the nett revenue which has accrued during the three first quarters of the year 1805, does not fall short of that of the corresponding quarters of the year 1804:—and that branch of the revenue may, exclusively of the Mediterranean fund, be safely estimated, for the present, at twelve millions of dollars, which is nearly the average of the two years 1803 and 1804.—The defalcation which took place in the year 1802, and the increase in the next following year, sufficiently shew that no inconsiderable portion of that branch of the revenue, is due to the neutrality of the United States, during the continuance of the war in Europe. Yet, if the revenue of 1802, the only year of European peace since 1792, be considered as the basis on which to form an estimate, this, with an addition of 10 per cent. on account of the increase of population for three years, and of near 300,000 dollars, the computed revenue of New Orleans, will give a result of near eleven millions and a half.—The statement (B) exhibits in detail the several species of merchandize and other sources from which that revenue was collected during the year 1804.—The revenue arising from the sales of public lands has been greater during the year ending on the 30th Sept. 1805, than that of any preceding year. It appears by the statement (C) that during that period, besides 145,000 acres, sold to persons claiming a right of pre-emption, 474,000 acres have been disposed of at the ordinary sales, making altogether, with the preceding sales, from the time when the land offices were opened in 1800 and 1801, an aggregate of near two millions of acres. The actual payments by purchasers, which, during the year ending on the 30th Sept. 1804, had amounted to 432,000 dollars, and had not in any one previous year exceeded 250,000 dollars, have, during the year ending the 30th Sept. 1805, amounted to 575,000 dollars; of which sum 535,000 dollars were paid in

specie, and the residue in stock of the public debt. The specie receipts from that source, may for the ensuing year, be safely estimated at five hundred thousand dollars.

The receipts arising from the permanent revenue of the United States may, therefore, without even including the duty on postage and other small incidental branches, be computed, for the year 1806, at twelve millions and five hundred thousand dollars. - 12,500,000

The payment in the treasury during the same year, on account of the temporary duties, constituting the Mediterranean fund, which will have accrued, to the 31st March next, are estimated at 900,000 dollars, and about one hundred thousand may be expected from the arrears of internal duties and of the direct tax, and from other incidental branches, making for temporary and incidental receipts, one million of dollars. 1,000,000

The balance of specie in the treasury, which, on the 30th day of Sept. last, amounted to 4,575,054 dollars will, as the receipts and current expenditures of the present quarter, may be considered as nearly equal, be diminished at the end of this year, only by payments on account of the American claims, assumed by the convention with France, and as the whole amount of those claims which remained unpaid on the 30th day of Sept. last, will, in this estimate, be stated among the expenditure of 1806, the whole of the above-mentioned balance may be added to the receipts of that year, viz. 4,575,000

Making in the whole an aggregate of more than eighteen millions of dollars - 18,075,000

EXPENDITURES.

The expenses of the year 1806, which must be defrayed out of those resources, are, like the revenue, either of a permanent nature, or temporary, viz. The permanent expenses are estimated at 11,450,000 dollars, and consist of the following items, viz.

1. The annual appropriation of eight millions of dollars, for the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt, of which more than 4,000,000 dollars will be applicable to the discharge of the principal, and the residue to the payment of the interest - 8,000,000
 2. For the Civil Department, and all domestic expenses of a civil nature, including invalid pensions, the light-house and mint establishments, the expenses of surveying public lands, the third instalment of the loan due to Maryland, and a sum of 50,000 dollars to meet such miscellaneous claims as may be allowed by Congress - 1,150,000
 3. For expenses incident to the intercourse with foreign nations, including the permanent appropriation for Algiers - 200,000
 4. For the Military and Indian Departments, including the permanent appropriations for certain Indian Tribes - 1,030,000
 5. For the Naval Establishment (exclusively of deficiencies for the service of the years 1804 and 1805, which are estimated at 600,000 dollars) - 1,070,000
- 11,450,000

The extraordinary demands, for the year 1806, amount to four millions of dollars, viz.

The Navy Deficiencies of 1804 and 1805, as above-mentioned - 600,000

And the Balance of the American Claims assumed by the French convention which remained unpaid on the 30th September last, amounting to - 3,400,000

4,000,000

Making together, fifteen millions four hundred and fifty thousand dollars - 15,450,000

It appears from the preceding statement, that the permanent revenues of the U. States will, during the ensuing year, exceed the

permanent expenditures by a sum of more than one million of dollars, and that the monies already on hand, together with the temporary resources of the year, will, after leaving the sum which it is always necessary to keep in the Treasury, be sufficient to discharge the Navy deficiencies, and the whole amount of the claims assumed by the convention with France, the large receipts of last year rendering it unnecessary to recur for that object to the loan authorised by the Act of the 10th of November, 1803.

(*To be continued.*)

MILITARY MANŒUVRES.

SIR;—At this crisis of political affairs, permit me to request your patient and serious attention to the following hints and reflections, on the present state of our infantry forces, likewise on the military resources of Great Britain; which I presume to imagine, you may deem of some moment to the immediate, and future welfare of this nation, and her allies.—“Often the mind, hurried on by her own ardour to distant views” (perhaps almost wholly ruminating on mere vain and frivolous matters) “neglects the most important truths that lie open before her.” I will not, at least at present, attempt to encroach on your time with surmises upon the many disastrous consequences, that, not unreasonably might be attributed to a very miraculous oversight of several of the most material parts of that inestimable military treatise compiled by General Sir David Dundas, and commanded, by his Majesty, “to be rigidly conformed to, and practised by every regiment in his Majesty’s service,” since the 1st of June, 1792: whilst the minds of the commander in chief, and the senior part of the army, seem to have been principally diverted by the almost useless parts of parade; the annihilation of every thing that was characteristic of the British service; the introduction of immense tassels, feathers, and other ridiculous baubles, very ill suited to military service, from no evident reason than their being *German*; with the establishing of most highly unconstitutional and despotic maxims, such as place the fortunes and even characters of officers who, without any just cause of reproach, may have zealously and faithfully served for many years, wholly at the mercy of a weak and arbitrary commander in chief; which cannot fail, if continued, soon to extinguish, at least in the inferior ranks, every spark of honourable sentiment, of course of true British spirit, also to render his Majesty’s military commis-

sions totally undesirable to any being who has the least pretension to the dignity and feelings of a gentleman, likewise most imminently to endanger the existence of the state. But, I will endeavour, as briefly as a subject of such magnitude will permit, to elucidate how indispensably requisite the due observance of these great rules, which have so long been prodigiously misinterpreted, is to that most important of all military operations, THE QUICK AND JUST FORMATION INTO LINE, and the ACCURATE MOVEMENT OF THE LINE; likewise, that their several principles may be clearly and thoroughly “shewn to the eye, and fixed in the mind,” of any man endowed with but very moderate understanding, in the course of a few days, most probably in a few hours; and be pretty well confirmed, provided the recruit is not deformed in his limbs, during a few days moderate exercise; and further, that when these few, and simple, but most important principles are once habitually acquired, no earthly reason can be advanced why even the worst of our volunteer corps should not be able to perform the nineteen manœuvres, ordered in his Majesty’s rules and regulations; and the officers be individually found, in a knowledge of their principles, infinitely superior to either battalion of the guards, or almost any corps in Europe, in their present state of discipline.—As Sir David Dundas represents, in the 333d page, and in other parts of the rules and regulations, “the chief object of every other movement is the quick and just formation into line when necessary, and the consequent advance of that line in front towards the enemy.” And, “to bring up troops to the attack in IMPERFECT ORDER, is to lose every advantage which discipline proposes, and to present them to the enemy in that very state, to which after his best efforts he has hoped to reduce them.”—In the introduction, the general very justly states that “one man, imperfect in his march, or whose person is distorted, will derange his division, and of course operate in a still more consequential manner on the battalion and line:” wherefore, “every old soldier is ordered to be re-drilled on his return from long absence, before he is permitted to act in the ranks of his company.”—Admit the fact that one man imperfect in his march, may derange his division; the truth of which, I trust, I shall presently clearly evince; and the immense consequence that a position, which, in standing and moving, gives the soldier at every instant nearly the greatest

possible command of his person, and which might be preserved longer than any other whatever, without constraint or fatigue to the soldier, should be adopted, in the drill and exercise of all our troops, and that the several wisely ordered rules for marching in line, &c. be properly inculcated in every officer and soldier, I imagine must be obvious indeed.—That such a position, and other necessary rules are most plainly laid down, in his Majesty's rules and regulations, I hope I shall succeed in my endeavours to convince you, and every other rationally reflecting man. Yet, I can feel no diffidence in protesting that those most essential rules have been egregiously misconstrued, though written in the most possible plain language, well adapted to every understanding, by the commander-in-chief, &c.; and seem even to have been almost totally forgotten by the great compiler himself, ever since he wrote them. Whether as the learned men, mentioned by Dr. Johnson, whose disputations "often continued till neither controvertist remembered upon what question they began," the general had continued to study, and write on tactics till the first rudiments, which he has so admirably laid down, had entirely escaped his mind, at a period of life when the faculties naturally fade; or that the Great Ruler, in whose rule and government are even the hearts and minds of kings, has been pleased here to present us with, a perhaps scarcely ever to be forgotten example, of the great weakness and instability of the mind of man,

Il mêle à nos vertus des marques de faiblesse,
Et rarement accorde à notre ambition
L'entier et par honneur d'une BONNE ACTION.
CORNEILLE.

or to whatever cause this wonderful fact is to be attributed, are not points of sufficient moment for our present discussion.—The first section of his Majesty's rules and regulations, describes the most possible firm, manly, and unconstrained, erect position in standing; and one which can be maintained longer than any other without fatigue, except that the arms would at first feel rather uncomfortable sensations from a very long continuance, in the proper military position. Of course, in the training of troops, attention is ever to be paid to the order [page 2] that "no recruit be kept long at any particular part of his exercise, so as to fatigue, or make him uneasy."—1st. Sect. "THE EQUAL SQUARENESS OF THE SHOULDERS AND BODY TO THE FRONT, is the first and great principle of the position of a soldier. The heels must be in a line and closed. The knee straight, without stiffness. The toe a li-

tle turned out, so that the feet may form an angle of about 60 degrees. Let the arms hang near the body, but not stiff, the flat part of the hand and little finger touching the thigh; the thumbs as far back as the seams of the breeches. The elbows * and shoulders † to be kept back, the belly rather drawn in, and the breast advanced without constraint; the BODY upright, but inclining forward, so that the weight of it bears principally on the fore part of the feet; the head to be erect, and neither turned to the right or left."—The positions in which a soldier should move determines that in which he should stand still. That excess of setting up which stiffens the person and tends to throw the body backward, instead of forward, is contrary to every true principle of movement, and must therefore, be most carefully avoided."—And the position in marching described in the fifth section, except the arms being of absolute necessity confined straight by the sides, is, perhaps, the most natural, firm, and majestic walk that human wisdom could devise.—5th Sect. In marching, the soldier must maintain, as much as possible, the position of the body directed in sect. 1. He must be well balanced upon his limbs. His arms and hands without stiffness, must be kept steady by his sides, and not suffered to vibrate. He must not be allowed to stoop forward, still less to lean back. His BODY must be kept square to the front, and thrown rather more forward in marching than when halted, that it may accompany the movement of the leg and thigh, which movement must spring from the HAUNCH. The ham must be stretched, but without stiffening the knee. The toe a little pointed, and kept near the ground, so that the shoe soles may not be visible to a person in front. The HEAD to be kept well up, straight to the front, and the EYES not suffered to be cast down. The FOOT, without being drawn back ‡, must be placed flat on the ground."—In the ordinary time of march, in which all movements of the line are made, 75 steps, of 30 inches each, are taken in one minute.—The position of the soldier with arms is, likewise, incomparably well ordered, in the

* The points of the elbows always to be turned direct to the rear.

† The points of the shoulders to be thrown back, so that the shoulder blades might lie quite flat on the back.

‡ Consequently not thrown out in the common most absurd manner.

twenty-third section; although commonly, as the two before detailed sections, most widely transgressed.—Sect. 23d. *Position of the soldier with arms.* “When the firelock is given, and shouldered, the person of the soldier remains in the position directed in sect. 1. except that the wrist of the left hand is turned out, the better to embrace the butt, the thumb alone is to appear in front, the four fingers to be under the butt; the left elbow is a little bent inwards, without being separated from the body, or being more forward or backward than the right one. The firelock is placed in the hand, not on the middle of the fingers, and carried in such a manner that it shall not raise, advance, or keep back one shoulder more than the other; the butt therefore must be forward, and as low as can be permitted without constraint; the fore part nearly even with that of the thigh, and the hind part of it pressed by the wrist against the thigh; the piece must be kept steady and firm before the hollow of the shoulder; should the firelock be *drawn back*, or attempted to be *carried high*, one shoulder will be advanced, the other kept back, and the upper part of the body distorted, and not placed square with respect to the limbs.”

—And the immensity of the importance of the utmost attention being given to those wise, but very simple rules, is strongly illustrated in the following passages from the “Rules and Regulations.”—“As the march of every body, except in cases of inclining, is made on lines perpendicular to its then front, each individual composing that body must in his own person be placed, and remain *perfectly square to the given line*; otherwise he will naturally and insensibly move in a direction perpendicular to his own person, and thereby open out or close in, according to the manner in which he is turned from the true point of his march. If the distortion of a single man operates in this manner, and **ALL TURNINGS OF THE HEAD do so distort him**, it may easily be imagined what that of several will occasion, each of whom is marching on a different front, and whose lines of direction are crossing each other.”

—P. 25. “The soldier, in marching, must not turn his head to the hand to which he is dressing, as a *turning of the shoulders* would undoubtedly follow.” Ibid. “One man, by bringing forward a shoulder may oblige the wing of a battalion to run in order to keep dressed.” Page 26. “The **ELBOWS must be kept steady**, without constraint; if they are opened from his body,

“or if they are closed, in either case, waving on the march will take place.” Page 25.—“**THE MARCH OF THE BATTALION IN LINE**, either to front or rear, being the *most important and most difficult* of all movements, every exertion of the commanding officer, and every attention of officers and men, become peculiarly necessary to attain this end. The great and indispensable requisites to this operation are the direction of the march being perpendicular to the front of the battalion as then standing; the *perfect squareness of the shoulders and body of each individual*; the *light touch of the files* (towards the centre of battalions); the *accurate equality of cadence, and length of step*, given by the advanced serjeants whom the battalion, in every respect, covers, follows, and complies with. If these are not observed, its direction will be lost; opening, closing, floating, will take place, and disorder will arise, in whatever line it makes part of.” Page 220.—“*The men are on no account to turn their heads to the colours*, but to preserve them, and consequently their shoulders, square to the front, and to depend principally on the light touch of the elbow, together with an occasional glance of the eye [the glance of the eye is intended chiefly for the purpose of keeping the step with the directing serjeant; whenever the eye is turned, which must be as seldom as possible, it should be but momentarily, with special care to prevent that shoulder to which the glance is made from falling to the rear] for the dressing.” Page 224.—“Notwithstanding every direction that can be given for the march of the line in front, the success of its execution will totally depend on the complete dexterity and training of its component parts; on the quick eye and ready decision of the commanders of battalions; on the accurate cadence and length of step, and lines of march taken by the several advanced serjeants, and by the battalions; together with the perfect squareness of each individual's person; all these, justly combined, are necessary to procure that precision which is not unattainable, and is so essential in this most difficult and important manœuvre, for the halt taking place near the enemy; and, when the firing should begin, there is no time then to rectify errors, and redress the line, but every thing must remain in the situation of that instant; and though a line a little irregularly halted may not be deficient in fire, yet it will present exposed flanks of battalions, and

" will not be in a state to advance farther
 " without disorder, even should an enemy
 " give way." Page 36.—"*Accuracy and*
 " *squareness of position, the equality of ca-*
 " *dence and step, the light touch of files,*
 " which is never to be relinquished, just
 " distances, and true lines of movement,
 " will give, without apparent constraint, the
 " head being turned, or the least trouble ta-
 " ken in dressing, the most decisive exactness
 " in the marches and operations of the
 " largest bodies." Page 36.—Hence, the
 indispensable necessity of that admirably
 natural, unconstrained position, described in
 the 1st, 5th, and 23d, sections of his Majes-
 ty's rules and regulations, I presume has
 been rendered very clear to every under-
 standing; as well as of a perfect knowledge,
 and due observance by every individual, from
 the commanding officer to the private, of
 the several most wisely ordered, and simple
 rules for marching detailed in the several
 foregoing paragraphs.—As for the nineteen
 manœuvres commanded for the practice and
 guidance of all his Majesty's infantry regi-
 ments, they are inimitably well arranged, and
 so constructed, that upon their few, and
 simple principles, every necessary change of
 position, of the greatest or smallest bodies,
 may be effected with great ease and accu-
 racy. At the same time, there will not be
 seen, in any assembly room in England,
 nineteen country dances whose figures are
 not more complicated and far more difficult,
 than the evolutions of those nineteen ma-
 nœuvres, when the first rudiments of move-
 ment are once understood.—From various
 experiments, which I have actually made,
 and which have succeeded in every instance
 far beyond my most sanguine expectations,
 I have no doubt but the ordered position,
 and a mature sense of its importance in all
 military manœuvres, might be sufficiently
 established, by very gentle progression, in
 any man, having the most ordinary share of
 comprehensiveness, provided the limbs are
 not insuperably deformed, in the space of six
 days at farthest; and, I think, another week
 would enable any body of men to move in
 line, without (though, perhaps, with) arms,
 with a precision not to be arrived at by the
 common mode of training. Further, I
 doubt not but that by exacting from the offi-
 cers and serjeants one or two hours (in each
 day) study in theory of the principles of the
 ordered manœuvres, besides the field exer-
 cise with the battalion, the new corps
 should appear in the space of two months, if
 not to have attained the acme of perfection in
 the most material points of service, at least,
 infinitely surpassing, in the performance of

the nineteen manœuvres, likewise in the
 knowledge of the officer and non-commis-
 sioned officer, in the several principles of
 those manœuvres, either regiment of the
 guards, or any other corps in the British ser-
 vice, except those regiments which have
 lately been under the immediate command
 of Major General Sir John Moore.—
 Yet, Sir, I do not believe there are ten re-
 giments in his Majesty's service, in which
 there are two captains who could command
 a battalion through the evolutions of those
 nineteen manœuvres; or, that the general-
 ity of our military officers, of superior or in-
 ferior rank, could display a greater propor-
 tionate degree of professional science.—
 Indeed, Sir, if you will take the trouble of
 observing the drill and exercise of the guards,
 or any of the before mentioned regiments,
 you would find the soldier, *so far from being*
well balanced on his limbs, in an extreme
 constrained attitude, which cannot be con-
 tinued long without much fatigue and pain,
 even by the old soldier. The arms and
 hands, not in the prescribed position, or
 steady by the sides, but unceasingly moving
 in various ways. The body, *never square* to
 any direction for ten paces together, and
leaning back so excessively that the soldier
 can have but very little command of his per-
 son, even on the smoothest parade. The
 knee will be *stiffened*. The head almost in-
 cessantly turning, if not to whatever way
 mere idle curiosity may incline them, to the
 centre of the battalion, at the words of com-
 mand, by the officers, "*eyes right*," or
 "*eyes left*;" although, in addition to what
 has been said of the necessity of the greatest
 possible care to keep the head and shoulders
 steady to the front, it is particularly specified
 in the 3d sect. of the rules and regulations;
 that those motions (*eyes right*, or *eyes left*)
 are only useful in the wheeling of divisions,
 or when dressing is ordered after the halt.
 The *foot*, instead of "without being drawn
 back," being placed flat on the ground; it
 will be thrown out in a very unnatural and
 highly irrational manner, of course brought
 back; and the heel alone, as the foot reach-
 es the ground, will bear the weight of a tot-
 tering body, which will be leaning back-
 wards. Wherefore, a superficial observer
 would naturally conclude, from the march
 of the guards, &c., that an accurate advance
 in line was impracticable; because each offi-
 cer and soldier is continually committing se-
 veral most flagrant errors, either of which
 would frustrate all human exertion to move
 in line with firmness and precision.—Every
 part of the mere show of parade should, at
 present, if not entirely, be laid aside, until

the whole of our infantry forces are perfect in the ordered system of exercise. Immense advantage would arise from a total abolition of military bands; then the minds of officers, instead of exciting the admiration of the ladies in the useless parts of parade, would be devoted to the study of real duty. "*The use of musick or drums are absolutely forbad,*" [page 78 of rules and regulations] in the training of troops, "*being incompatible with the just and combined movements of any considerable body, and giving false aids to the very smallest: they never persevere in the ordered time, or in any other, are constantly changing measure, create noise, and counteract the very end they are supposed to promote.*" Nor should music ever be used in the march of troops, but whilst one or two persons are observing, by the plummet or stop watch, whether they can preserve the ordered cadence of step, "in spite of any noise or circumstance that could tend to derange them."—What I have represented as practicable by undrilled troops in the course of two months, I presume might be accomplished by even the worst of our volunteer battalions, not infested by interior discord in the course of one month. As yet they are by no means in a state which ought to inspire themselves or their country with any solid expectation that their zeal and bravery could subdue an experienced enemy, whose recent victories yield them an almost irresistible confidence. I have often, indeed lately, been in Hyde Park, &c. where the volunteer and other corps have been brigaded and inspected; and the very instant that their arms were shouldered, I perceived that all their movements would be very irregular; nor have they been one minute in motion ere much confusion and disorder pervaded their ranks, through an egregious deviation from almost every rule laid down for their guidance. Yet, very flattering encomiums were lavished upon their soldier-like conduct under arms, &c.; which compliments were not dishonestly given, though utterly undeserved; for the generals of brigades and inspectors were very ignorant in the true and ordered principles of movement, and therefore, knew not how to direct them better.—At the same time, I will do the volunteers the justice to confess my opinion that they are very little inferior to most of our regular regiments, in point of discipline. For even in the last campaign at Weymouth, where, not many weeks since,

I saw several sham battles, &c. I remarked an equal degree of disorder and confusion at almost every instant of movement, proceeding from the same cause: and it is to be concluded that the Commander-in-chief would not have exposed himself to the indignation of the Sovereign, by sending regiments under the eye of the King, which were inferior, in discipline, to the generality of the British service.—The immense advantages that would immediately follow, from a reasonable reform in those defects which I hope I have clearly pointed out, would exceed easy calculation. If such perfection in discipline, as I have presumed to assert as attainable by even the worst of our volunteer corps in one month, or by a body of totally undrilled recruits, under one or two judicious officers, in the space of two months, could be established throughout the whole of our regular and militia regiments, and in four hundred thousand volunteers, composed of truly zealous, loyal, and brave men; even in the course of a few months; Great Britain might then be enabled to send a military force to the Continent, which could well be expected to co-operate effectually with our allies, in reducing her haughty foe to the absolute necessity of humbly suing for peace, upon such a solid basis as must ensure the repose of Europe for some ages. Our battalions, under a commander in whose abilities and conduct they could rationally entertain an implicit faith, would march against their Gallic enemies in a confidence, with which a well founded sense of their superiority would animate them, that would, perhaps, rival the great achievements of Crecy, Poictiers, Agincourt, or any glorious martial feats yet accomplished by the British arms. Nor would a monarch of France, be so absurd as longer to amuse himself, or that nation, with the chimerical hopes of attempting the invasion of this country, without meeting inevitable and instantaneous destruction; or of seriously affecting the vital resources of England by subsidies for a large standing force, to keep at bay a mere bugbear army, encamped at Boulogne, &c. when it should be known to the world that an immense array of the best possible trained Britons, who whilst they were peaceably enriching themselves in the midst of their families, and adding inexhaustible strength to the national finance, by their honest industry, would at all times be ready to muster impregnable lines on whatever part of our coasts an enemy should be rash enough

to approach. Neither would France soon venture again to trample on the established rights of civilized nations, or to violate those treaties which would proclaim a glorious peace to England and her allies.—The following fact, the verity of which I could easily substantiate upon ample testimony, might serve as a very powerful proof that neither the military strength or patriotism of this empire are to be estimated merely by the regular, militia, and volunteer forces now mustered under arms; likewise, that, whilst all classes of the community are united in fervent loyalty towards a wise and benevolent Sovereign, and by a rational attachment to our glorious civil constitution, no justly grounded fear of invasion ought to agitate the public mind, if the armies of every other European power were to assemble on the neighbouring shores. In the year 1798, I happened to be stationed at Monmouth, and one day dining in company with a very worthy and zealous patriot, was asked, by him, many pertinent questions concerning the army, especially of the general system of drill; I could not avoid ingenuously confessing, with all possible deference to the senior part of the army, my conviction that the usual method of training troops, in their exercise, was most palpably bad, and in most parts erroneous in the extreme. I likewise added a very humble, but most decided opinion, that, from what I had witnessed during one month in a militia corps, about the year 1787 or 1788, conjoined with impressions resulting within my own mind from some little serious meditation, a body of entirely untrained men, under two or three experienced, and judicious officers, and a few well drilled non-commissioned officers or soldiers, might be instructed to move in line, and perform the most material manœuvres, in less than many days, by a *firm, easy, and natural pace*, as well as could be done by the common mode of drill, in many years. About that time there were many volunteer associations forming, at the desire of the government. The before-mentioned gentleman was very active in promoting the wishes of government, and finding many persons professing great affection to the King and constitution, and high respect for the gentlemen elected as the officers for the Monmouth corps, still objected to enroll themselves, from a plausible conjecture that much valuable time, and expense would be wasted, under officers unversed in military tactics, without arriving at an efficient state of discipline; my friend, conceiving that some of my answers to his several queries, and my senti-

ments to some of those who were hesitating about entering the volunteers. In consequence of which, about seven hundred respectable residents of the town and environs of Monmouth enrolled themselves, under very solemn pledges, to stand forward in the event of invasion, or of an enemy appearing in force upon the coasts, to place themselves under the regular officers who might be recruiting in that district, and to proceed to whatever part of the kingdom their services might be required in; each man receiving one shilling bounty, with a supposition of thereby binding themselves irrevocably, and most effectually under the discipline and penalties of martial law.—I have very good reasons for believing the same spirit of patriotism might be found throughout every town and village in England.—Should those errors in the drill, of which I hope I have sufficiently spoken, be amended according to the spirit of the few, simple and most excellent rules laid down by General Sir David Dundas, it would soon follow of course that the officers would possess “that degree of *“ INTELLIGENCE which should distinguish every officer according to his station,”* and “*be cool and collected*” in all situations; *every word of command and instruction*, would be given in that “*firm, decided, and proper manner* in which orders should be “*given,*” and the *justness of execution and confidence of the soldier* would on all occasions be proportioned. No longer would the soldier receive hard stripes with *sticks and canes* upon his shoulders, and continually bear the brunt of terrible volleys of *drill-jargon*, which degrade the soldier to the lowest ebb in the esteem of his own mind: neither would the gentleman be insulted and abused, in the officer, by those disgraceful tides of *vile abuse, which now pass current for the very essence of military science*; whilst the errors at which they were directed were the unavoidable consequence of “*faults of principle, not of the soldier.*”—After which, let the term of enlistment be limited; and some salutary regulations respecting service in unhealthy climates; as also concerning the commutation of legal penalties, for criminal offences, to military service, be established; I might then venture to pronounce that nothing would exist in the British army, which could be deemed inconsistent with the natural sentiment of rational beings endowed with sensibility.—And then it might be fairly presumed, the government would find no difficulty in mustering a sufficient regular force to answer the utmost probable exigencies of the state, in any popular cause, without the present



ineffectual) offer of large bounties. I should not be at all surprised, if, in peaceable times, extremely good subjects should be found even ready to give a bounty to be received into the regular regiments.—I apprehend from pretty good sources of information, that few men, excepting those who have been discharged from jails, or from the custody of peace officers, for criminal offences, on the express condition of enlisting, have entered the *Army of Defence*; so that perhaps scarcely any man can be said to have voluntarily entered under that bill, from which Mr. Pitt cherished such great expectation.—I have witnessed several instances, very respectable evidence to which I could adduce, if required, of young men enlisting for life into the regular army, avowedly from the sole motive of not being obliged, by being ballotted, to go into the army of reserve; though they might have got thrice the bounty which they actually received for unlimited service, by going as a substitute into the same army of reserve, merely from regarding the Army of Reserve Bill as an oppressive and unconstitutional measure. Therefore, I can have no difficulty in forming a decided opinion that his Majesty's ministers, at present, can entertain no other than delusive prospects of being able to raise any considerable body of British subjects for the regular army, but by compulsory means, the very sound of which would violently shake the constitution to its foundation, so as imminently to threaten its total ruin.—Perhaps, Sir, it might be requisite to inform you of my having presented to the government, within the last two or three years, several plans for effectually correcting these defects, and establishing a superior state of discipline throughout the regulars, militia, and volunteers; and have learnt, from a confidential friend of the minister, that they were not deemed unworthy of deliberate perusal by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. But, from their not experiencing the further attention to which they have been thought entitled, by very able persons, I am inclined to persuade myself that a too great diffidence, and false delicacy, towards the commander-in-chief and the senior officers of the army, prevented my being sufficiently explicit, to have made the extent of my views perfectly conspicuous, in offering those suggestions.—And conceiving that an EXPOSITION of the NINETEEN MANŒUVRES and LIGHT INFANTRY EXERCISE (comprised within so small a compass as not to be cumbrous even to the breeches pocket) in very simple and concised delineations; a selection of those important rudiments, so

strangely misunderstood for above fourteen years, being, in my work, written in a manner that could not fail to strike every mind [vide page 50], with the chief rules for moving in line, column, &c.; a method of dressing the divisions of a battalion [page 117] when forming into line, with promptitude and precision; also, with figures representing the divisions, and half platoons of a battalion, by which any manœuvres could be conveniently practised in theory; would be a material aid to the execution of my plans, in case of their being adopted; and thinking it not very improbable, even if my suggestions should not meet a very favourable reception, that the little compilation might prove instrumental in promoting the great object, which, purely from patriotic motives, my mind had long been very earnestly bent upon. I submitted to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief, nearly two years since, the accompanying exposition* of the nineteen manœuvres, &c.; and was honoured by "the thanks" of the Duke of York "for the communication of the same," accompanied with the compliment that "His Royal Highness very much applauded the zeal which led me "to the study of those essential points of service, by which" I "had been enabled so accurately to delineate them." "An example" which His Royal Highness thought "highly worthy of imitation," &c.; likewise with an intimation that the commander-in-chief was not aware the publication of the compilation would prove of any essential service, the subject having been so fully treated of by his Majesty's orders and regulations."—However, I requested the opinion of Colonel Clinton, the then Secretary to the Duke of York, whether the commander-in-chief would be displeased at its publication; signifying, to the colonel, that, otherwise I felt inclined to risque the expense of publishing my little work, under a very humble hope that it might prove in some measure useful, "from its being principally composed of the most important parts of his Majesty's rules and regulations, particularly for the movements of the line, and operations of the column; and also, from its containing a singular mode of imprinting on the mind of the recruit in one day's exercise, a perfect idea of the true principles of moving in line, according to his Majesty's rules and regulations [vide page 63], which I had never observed, either in that great work, or in the exercise of any regiment: but by which I had, in the

* Published at Lloyd's in Harley Street.

"course of one morning, made a volunteer company, which had not been enrolled a month, march several times round a field situated on the side of a hill or rather steep ascent, with a degree of precision that I had not frequently seen surpassed." I was favoured by an answer from Colonel Clinton, informing me that he had "no idea that his Royal Highness would disapprove of" my "publishing the manuscripts which" I "could be urged to do from no other motive than that of contributing in some degree to the general good of the service."—However, in a few months afterwards, Major General Sir John Moore adopted, in the brigade under his command, a system of marching, and of drill, answering the conception I have, and have long borne, of those most excellent rules prescribed in his Majesty's rules and regulations, by General Sir David Dundas; except that, under Sir John Moore, the recruit is for a long while daily tortured in very stiffened and ridiculous postures, with a curious notion of their being necessary to instruct him in that admirably natural, firm, and manly position, incomparably laid down in the 1st and 5th sections before recited.—I have passed, perhaps, the most valuable period of human life, with a very ardent, though not the most fortunate zeal, in the army; but, at present, there are most cogent reasons for my not desiring to appear in any active military capacity; yet, as I should ever enjoy an inexpressible satisfaction in displaying any proofs of that fervent devotion to my King and country, which, from the first dawn of rational reflection, has taught me that every subject

"Est de tout son sang comptable à sa patrie,"

I hereby, with a view to induce the experiment, make a full and perfect offer of my life, or to suffer perpetual banishment, from my family, friends, and this my native kingdom, in the event of any volunteer corps, not afflicted by internal cabals, being embodied for a month; or any body of British men, officered by persons having the common education and address of gentlemen, with men of proper respectability for non-commissioned officers, being assembled for two months: and not be declared, by competent judges, to have attained upon a plan I could presume to suggest, a degree of discipline, in the most essential points of military service, within the stated periods, infinitely superior to what should be acknowledged by those judges to be practicable in the longest period of human life, by the common system of drill and field exercise: for,

as a celebrated philosophical writer has said, if we set out upon false axioms, no diligence of art we can use while we follow so erroneous a course, will ever bring us to the desired end. There is a very respectable old officer, now residing in my neighbourhood, with whom I have not the honour of any personal acquaintance, but by whom I have seen such miracles performed through an almost incomparably mild and dignified manner of address, by the drilling for only one month of a militia corps, when the militia was first embodied after the American war, upon very defective principles, that I should feel myself perfectly easy under an implicit confidence that he, with perhaps, one or two officers whom he might desire as assistants, would fully accomplish every thing I have ventured to hold forth, in less than the specified time, by a few simple, concise, and infallible rules, which I could point out in his Majesty's rules and regulations, compiled by General Sir David Dundas, from which the eyes of vast numbers of the most possible gallant and zealous officers, for upwards of fourteen years, have been arrested by a too serious attention to "*trifling minutenesses*" and "*shadowy distinctions*."—A VERY HUMBLE PATRIOT.—Huntsmore, near Uxbridge, Nov. 28, 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

TREATIES, &c. PRESENTED, BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND, TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, 28TH JANUARY, 1806.

Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of all the Russias, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th April, 1805.

In the Name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.—His Majesty, the King of the united kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, animated with the desire of restoring to Europe the peace, independence, and happiness, of which it is deprived, by the unbounded ambition of the French Government, and the immoderate degree of influence which it is striving to arrogate to itself, have resolved to employ every means in their power to obtain this salutary end, and to prevent the renewal of similar disastrous circumstances; and they have named, in consequence, for the purpose of fixing and agreeing upon those measures which their magnanimous intentions may call for, viz. His Maj. the King of the united kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, the Ld. Granville Leveson Gower, Member of Parliament of the said united kingdom, one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors, and his

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias; and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Adam Prince of Czartoryski, one of his Privy Councillors, Member of the Council of State, Senator, adjunct Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the General Direction of Schools, Curator of the Imperial University of Wilna and of its district, Lieut. of the Grand Prior of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Russian Catholic Priory, and Knight of the Order of St. Anne, and Commander of that of St. John of Jerusalem; and the Sieur Nicolas of Novossilzoff, his present Chamberlain, adjunct Minister of Justice, charged with the examination of the projects presented to His Maj. and with other special commissions, President of the Academy of Sciences, Member of the General Direction of the Schools, Curator of the University of St. Petersburg and of its District, and Knight of the Order of St. Vladimir, who, after having verified and exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following article:—ART. 1. As the state of suffering in which Europe is placed, demands speedy remedy, Their Majesties, the King of the united kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and the Emperor of all the Russias, have mutually agreed to consult upon the means of putting a stop thereto, without waiting for farther encroachments on the part of the French Govt. They have agreed, in consequence, to employ the most speedy and most efficacious means to form a general league of the States of Europe, and to engage them to accede to the present concert; and, in order to accomplish the end proposed, to collect together a force, which, independently of the succours furnished by His Brit. Maj. may amount to 500,000 effective men; and to employ the same with energy, in order either to induce or to compel the French Govt. to agree to the re-establishment of peace, and of the equilibrium of Europe.—ART. 2. The object of this League will be to carry into effect what is proposed by the present concert, namely: (a.) The Evacuation of the Country of Hanover, and of the North of Germany. (b.) The Establishment of the Independence of the Republics of Holland and Switzerland. (c.) The Re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large augmentation of territory as circumstances will permit. (d.) The future Security of the Kingdom of Naples, and the complete Evacuation of Italy, the Island of Elba included, by the French forces, (e.) The Establish-

ment of an Order of Things in Europe, which may effectually guarantee the Security and Independence of the different States, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.—ART. 3. His Brit. Maj. in order to concur efficaciously on his side, to the happy effects of the present concert, engages to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces, both by sea and land, as well as his vessels adapted for transporting troops, in such manner as shall be determined upon in the general plan of operations; His Maj. will moreover, assist the different powers who shall accede thereto, by subsidies, the amount of which shall correspond to the respective forces which shall be employed; and, in order that the said pecuniary succours may be proportioned in the manner most conducive to the general good, and to assist the powers, in proportion to the exertions they may make to contribute to the common success, it is agreed, that these subsidies (barring particular arrangements), shall be furnished in the proportion of 1,250,000 pounds sterling, for each 100,000 men of regular troops, and so in proportion for a greater or smaller number, payable according to the conditions hereinafter specified.—ART. 4. The said subsidies shall be payable by instalments, from month to month, in proportion to the forces which each Power shall employ in pursuance of its engagements, to combat the common enemy, and according to the official report of the armies employed at the opening of the campaign, and of the several reinforcements which may join them. An arrangement shall be made in conformity with the plan of operations, which shall be forthwith regulated as to the period when these subsidies shall begin to be paid, and the mode and place of payment shall be settled so as to suit the convenience of each of the Belligerent Parties. His Brit. Maj. will likewise be prepared to advance within the current year, a sum for putting the troops in motion. This sum shall be settled by particular arrangements to be entered into by each Power, who shall take part in this concert; but His said Maj. understands that the whole of the sums to be furnished to any Power within the current year, as well as on account of the said advance, as for the monthly subsidies, is in no case to exceed the proportion of 1,250,000 pounds sterling, for every 100,000 men.—ART. 5. The High Contracting Parties agree that the different Members of the League shall respectively be permitted to retain accredited persons with the Commanders in Chief of the different Armies, to carry on the cor-

respondence, and to attend to the military operations.—ART. 6. Their Majesties agree, that in the event of a league being formed, such as is pointed out in the First Article, they will not make peace with France, but by the common consent of all the Powers who shall become parties in the said league; and also that the Continental Powers shall not recall their forces before the peace; moreover, His Brit. Maj. engages to continue the payment of the subsidies during the continuance of the war.—ART. 7. The present Concert, which is mutually acknowledged by the high contracting Parties to be equally valid and binding as the most solemn treaty, shall be ratified by His Maj. the King of the united kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and by His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at St. Petersburg within the space of ten weeks, or sooner if possible.—In testimony whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, April 11, (30th March), 1805. Signed, G. L. GOWER, ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI, NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

No. I. (A.)—*First separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April, (30th March), 1805.*

His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, having made known to His Brit. Maj. his arrangements with Their Majesties the Emperor of Germany and the King of Sweden, His Brit. Maj. engages to fulfil his stipulations of the present Treaty of Concert towards each of those powers, if, in the space of four months, reckoning from the day of the signature of the present instrument, both those powers, or one of them, shall have caused their forces to act against France, by virtue of the engagements they have taken with His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias.—This separate Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate Article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburg, this 11th April (30th March), 1805.—Signed, G. L. GOWER, ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI, NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

No. 1. (B.)—*Fourth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St.*

Petersburgh, 11th April (20th March), 1805.

The collecting of 500,000 effective men, mentioned in Art. I. of the Treaty of Concert signed this day, not being so easy as it is desirable, their Majesties have agreed that it should be carried into execution as soon as it should be possible to oppose to France an active force of 400,000 men, composed in the following manner; Austria will supply 250,000 men, Russia not less than 115,000 men, independently of the levies made by her in Albany, in Greece, &c.; and the remainder of the 400,000 will be made up by the troops of Naples, Hanover, Sardinia, and others.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, this 11th of April (30th March) 1805.—Signed G. L. GOWER. ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI. NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

No. 1. (C.)—*Fifth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April (March 30), 1805.*

His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, engages also to march as soon as possible, an army of not less than 60,000 men to the frontiers of Austria, and also another of not less than 80,000 men to the Prussian frontiers, to be ready to co-operate with the said courts, in the proportion established by the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and to support them respectively in case they should be attacked by France, who might suppose them to be engaged in some negotiation tending towards an object contrary to her views; but it is understood, that independently of the 115,000 men, which His Imperial Maj. of all the Russias will cause to act against the French, he will keep bodies of reserve and observation upon his frontiers.—It is moreover agreed, that as the forces promised by His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias shall all, or in part, quit the frontiers of his empire, His Brit. Maj. will pay them the subsidies, at the rate established by the present Treaty of Concert, until the return of the said forces to their homes; and moreover, the equivalent of three months of subsidy as a *Première mise en Campagne*.—The Russian troops already stationed at the Seven Islands, or which may be intended to be transported thither, will

not enjoy the advantage of the subsidies, and of the *Première mise en Campagne*, stipulated in the present art., before the day of their leaving the Seven Islands, to commence their operations against the French.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th of April (30th March,) 1805.—Signed G. L. GOWER. ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI. NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. 1. (D)—*Sixth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April (30th March,) 1805.*

His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, being disposed to form an energetic concert, with the sole view of insuring to Europe a lasting and solid peace, founded upon the principles of justice, equity, and the law of nations, by which they are constantly guided, are aware of the necessity of a mutual understanding, at this time, upon several principles, which they will evince, in pursuance of a previous concert, as soon as the events of the war may render it necessary.—These principles are, in no degree, to control the public opinion in France, or in any other countries, where the combined armies may carry on their operations, with respect to the form of government which it may be proper to adopt; nor to appropriate to themselves, till a peace should be concluded, any of the conquests made by one or the other of the belligerent parties; and to take possession of the towns and territories, which may be wrested from the common enemy, in the name of the country or states, to which, by acknowledged right, they belong, and in all other cases, in the name of all the members of the league; and, finally, to assemble, at the termination of the war, a general congress, to discuss and fix the provisions of the law of nations, on a more determined basis, than unfortunately has hitherto been practicable; and to insure their observance, by the establishment of a federative system, calculated upon the situation of the different states of Europe.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified

at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April (30th March,) 1805.—Signed G. L. GOWER. ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI. NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. 1. (E)—*Eighth separate Article.*

It being possible that the bias which the French govt. tries to give to the councils of the different states of Europe, may determine one or other of those states to throw obstacles in the way of the attainment of the salutary effects which are the objects of the present concert, and even to have recourse to hostile measures against one of the high contracting parties, in spite of their endeavours to establish an equitable and permanent order of things in Europe, His Brit. Maj., and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, agree to make common cause against every power, which, by the employment of its forces, or by too intimate an union with France, may pretend to raise essential obstacles to the developement of those measures which the high contracting parties may have to take, in order to attain the object proposed by the present concert.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April (30th March,) 1805.—Signed G. L. GOWER. ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI. NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. 1. (E)—*Eleventh separate Article.*

The high contracting parties, acknowledging the necessity of supporting the propositions of peace, which it is their intention to make to Buonaparté by energetic demonstrations, have resolved to invite His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. to put his armies in a state of readiness for action, without delay, by completing their numbers, and by concentrating them in the neighbourhood of the borders of France. His Brit. Maj. considering the extraordinary expenses which this measure will render necessary, promises and engages to furnish to His Imperial and Royal Maj. immediately after his accession to the present concert, the sum of one million of pounds sterling, for *Première mise en Campagne*, which the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland will not reclaim, in case the negotiations for

peace should be crowned with success, provided that, in a contrary event, Austria would take the field immediately.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th of April, (30th March), 1805.—Signed G. L. GOWER. ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI. NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

No. I. (G).—*Separate and Secret Article.*

Although the high contracting parties have agreed by the first separate article of the Treaty of Concert, established this day between them, that Austria and Sweden shall not partake of the advantages of the said concert, but in the event of their bringing their forces into action against France, 4 months after its signature, by virtue of their engagements with His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias; yet His Brit. Maj. considering the advantage to the future security of Europe, which results from an union similar to that formed by His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, with their Majesties the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Sweden, for the purpose of opposing the further encroachments of Buonaparté, promises to fulfil the stipulations of the present concert, in the same degree towards either of those powers, if, in the course of the year 1805, both or one of them should bring their forces into action against France, in virtue of their engagements with His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias.—This separate and secret art. shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate and secret art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April (30th March), 1805.—Signed G. L. GOWER. ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI. NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

No. I. (H).—*Additional Article.*

His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, having, in pursuance of his sincere desire to insure success to the enterprise, concerted against France, determined, in case the circumstances should require it, to augment the forces which he has promised to bring into action, to an hundred and eighty thousand men, His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, pro-

mises, and engages to pay, in that case, to His Imperial Maj. of all the Russias, for the troops which he may thus add to the 115,000 already agreed upon, a subsidy and a *Première mise en Campagne*, at the same rate as is agreed by the fifth separate article of the Treaty of Concert, established between His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, the 30th March (11th April), 1805.—This additional article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the aforementioned Concert, and shall be ratified by the two high contracting powers; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of ten weeks, or sooner, if possible.—In witness whereof, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed to it the seals of their arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 10th May (28th April), 1805.—Signed, G. L. GOWER. ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI. NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

No. I. (I).—*Additional Article of the Treaty of Concert, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th April, 1805.*

His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, purposing to concert measures with the Court of Vienna, by which considerable Russian armies may be approximated to the frontiers of France, by crossing the Austrian and Prussian territories, while it is declared that the object of these movements is to obtain securities for the Continent, promises and engages to His Brit. Maj. in his own name, and in that of his allies, that, should even circumstances require, that at the moment when the Russian troops began their march, they should declare that this movement was in no way connected with an existing concert with His Brit. Maj. but that the powers of the Continent reclaim the fulfilment by France of her immediate engagements with them, yet as soon as the war shall have broken out, they will no longer pursue a particular object, but that which has been determined by the Concert of the 30th March (11th April), with all the clauses incorporated with it.—In return for this assurance, His Brit. Maj. promises and engages, in the first place, to fulfil towards the Emperor of all the Russias the stipulations of the above-mentioned Concert, in all their parts, as soon as the war shall have broken out between Russia and France, and especially to furnish for the Russian troops the subsidies agreed upon, payable from the day on which they shall have quitted the frontiers of the empire, and, moreover, the three months stipulated subsidy, under the

name of *Première mise en Campagne*; with this condition, nevertheless, that however long may be the term between the epoch of the departure of the Russian troops from their frontiers, and that of the commencement of hostilities, His Brit. Maj. shall not be bound to pay Russia for that interval more than six months subsidy at the most, the *Première mise en Campagne* being therein comprised.—In the second place, to fulfil, with regard to Austria, all the stipulations of the above-mentioned Concert, and especially all that relates to the subsidies, as soon as the ambassador of His Imperial and Royal Majesty shall have signed the Act of Accession of his Court; and lastly, in the third place, to pay in the like manner to the other allies of Russia, who shall assist in this enterprise (except in the case of special arrangements), the subsidies which have been allotted for them by the above-mentioned Concert, and on the conditions therein specified.—This additional art. shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the above-mentioned Concert, and shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg, in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible.—In faith of which, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 12th July (24th), 1805.—(Signed) G. L. GOWER. ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

No. II. (A.) *Preliminary Declaration of Count Stadion, to Lord Granville Leveson Gower, dated at St. Petersburg, 28th July (9th Aug), 1805.*

The undersigned Ambassador Extra. and Plenipotentiary of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. by order of his august sovereign, after having invited his Exc. the Ambassador of G. Britain, to join with him in the Preliminary Declarations which he has exchanged this day, with his Exc. the Prince of Czartoryski, has, moreover, declared as follows:—His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. in acceding to the treaty concluded on the 30th March (11th April), 1805, and subsequently ratified by the Courts of London and St. Petersburg, under the reservations, modifications, and demands, as announced in the above-mentioned preliminary declarations, limits the pecuniary succours, which he expects from His Maj. the King of G. Britain, for the current year, 1805, to three millions sterling; of which sum one million and a half is to be considered as *Première mise en Campagne*; and as such, is to be furnished with as little de-

lay as possible; and the other million and a half as subsidies, to be paid in equal monthly payments, until the last day of the year. These subsidies, as well as one million of the sum appointed for *Première mise en Campagne*, are to be furnished to His Imperial Maj. and shall remain in his possession, even though the vigorous demonstrations, in which his forces are actually employed, should not terminate in hostilities, but should lead, by the way of negotiation, to the re-establishment of peace. Moreover, as these armed demonstrations afford the greatest and most efficacious aid, for the promotion of the object of the Concert, to which His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. has acceded, he expects, that, as long as they shall continue, the subsidy shall likewise continue to be paid, in the same manner, as if his armies were employed in actual war, and that for the year 1806, and the subsequent years, in consideration of the great number of troops which he is opposing to the common enemy, the subsidy shall be increased to the sum of four millions sterling, payable in the same manner as is stated above, until the return of the regiments into the hereditary dominions.—His Exc. the Ambassador of G. Britain having declared that the instructions and precise orders of his Court precluded him from acceding without restriction, to the above-mentioned demands, and having engaged, by a preliminary act, exchanged against the present, in the name of His Brit. Maj. to stipulations which differ from them considerably, as well with regard to the sum, as to the terms of the propositions made in the name of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj.—The undersigned accepts this Act, given in by the Ambassador of England, but he declares at the same time, that he does not consider the sums stipulated therein as sufficient, and that he expressly reserves for his Court the power of reclaiming to this effect, and of effectuating the fulfilment of its demands.—In transmitting this Preliminary Declaration, which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn treaty, to His Exc. the Ambassador of His Maj. the King of G. Britain, he is authorised to declare to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately, on these same bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of Austria, to the concert of 30th of March, (11th of April).—These presents shall be ratified by the respective courts in as short a time as is possible.—In faith of which, the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. has signed the present preliminary declara-

tion, and has affixed thereto the seal of his arms. Done at St. Petersburg the 28th of July (9th of Aug.), 1805. (L.S.) J. PHILIPPE, Comte de Stadion.

No. II. (B.)—*Declaration of Count Stadion to Prince Czartoryski, dated Petersburg, 28th July (9th August), 1805.*

The undersigned Ambassador Extr. and Plenip. of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj., being especially authorised by the Emperor, his august master, declares, in answer to the declaration which has been delivered to him by his Exc. the Prince Czartoryski, of this day's date as follows:—1. His Imperial and Royal Maj., in accepting the different articles announced in this declaration, accedes to the concert concluded between the Courts of St. Petersburg and London, the 30th March (11th April) of this year, as well as to the last plan, which the Russian ministry has caused to be presented at Vienna. His Maj. promises to fulfil the engagements thereof, with the exception of the modifications, clauses, and demands, included in the different official pieces to which his Imperial Maj. of Russia has given his consent in the preliminary declaration, which will be taken as the basis of the concert of measures which Austria and Russia are to employ for the attainment of their object.—2. His Imperial and Royal Maj. engages to execute, without delay, the military arrangement agreed upon at Vienna, the 16th of July, as well for the armed demonstration which is to facilitate the negotiation, as for the operations against the enemy, which may ensue; in the confidence and certain expectation, that the present preliminary agreement shall be unexceptionably and literally fulfilled, and that the definitive agreement shall be concluded without delay, and on the same basis between the three powers.—3. His Imperial and Royal Maj. engages, as soon as the whole or a part of the Russian troops shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but on the basis which his Maj. has himself acknowledged to be indispensable for the safety of Europe; and if hostilities shall take place, to make neither a peace nor truce, but with the consent of the allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th March (11th April) of this year.—The undersigned, in delivering the present preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and to have the validity of the most solemn act, to his Exc. the Prince Czartoryski, is authorised to announce to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed, immediately, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the Court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th

March (11th April).—The present declaration, and that delivered to the undersigned by his Exc. the Prince Czartoryski, shall be ratified by the respective Sovereigns, in the least possible time, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at St. Petersburg.—In faith of which, the undersigned, Ambassador Extr. and Plenip. of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. has signed the present declaration, has caused to be affixed thereto the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration, signed this day, by his Exc. Prince Czartoryski, joint Minister for Foreign Affairs of his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias. Done at St. Petersburg, the 9th Aug. (28th July,) 1805. Signed J. PHILIPPE, Count de Stadion.

No. II. (C.)—*Copy of the Declaration delivered by Prince Czartoryski to the Ambassador Count de Stadion, on the 28th July (9th Aug.), 1805.*

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs, being authorised to that effect by his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, declares to his Exc. the Ambassador Count de Stadion, as follows: 1. The several observations and proposals announced by the Court of Vienna, in the preliminary declaration delivered by the Vice Chancellor of the Court and State, Count de Cobenzel, to the Ambassador Count de Razoumofsky, on the 7th of July, are assumed by his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the Court of Russia, and those of Vienna and of London. In like manner, the modifications proposed therein by his Imperial and Royal Maj. for the regulation of the affairs of the Continent, are also adopted, in case of their being reason to hope that war may be avoided by means of negotiation.—2. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias confirms the military arrangements detailed in the protocol of conferences held between the General Baron de Wintzingerode on one side, and the Prince de Schwarzenberg and General Mack on the other, and which was signed the 16th of July. And his Imperial Maj. engages strictly to fulfil the whole of the measures therein arranged.—3. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages, moreover, to endeavour to prevail on his Brit. Maj. to consent to the modifications and demands contained in the paper entitled, "Remarks on some particular Objects of the Convention signed between the Courts of Petersburg and London, the 30th March (11th April) of this year."—4. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias promises to use his best endeavours to engage his Brit. Maj. to grant the total amount of the subsidiary demands

made by the Court of Vienna; with this condition, nevertheless, that in case his Imperial Maj. notwithstanding all his exertions, should fail in the attempt, this circumstance shall occasion no essential change in the measures concerted between Russia and Austria.—5. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias engages, as soon as the whole or a part of the Russian troops shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but upon those bases which his Imperial Maj. has himself acknowledged to be indispensable for the safety of Europe; and when the war shall have broken out, to make neither peace nor a truce without the consent of the allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th March (11th April) of this year.—The undersigned, in delivering this preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place and have the validity of the most solemn act, to the ambassador of Austria, is authorised to announce to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately on these bases to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the Court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March (11th April).—The present declaration, and that delivered in return by the Ambassador, Count de Stadion, shall be ratified by the respective Sovereigns, in the shortest possible term, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg.—In faith of which the undersigned Joint Minister for Foreign Affairs has signed the present declaration, has caused the seal of his arms to be affixed thereto, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his Exc. the Count de Stadion. Done at St. Petersburg the 28th July (9th Aug.) 1805. (Signed) LE PRINCE ADAM DE CZARTORYSKI.

No. II. (D.)—*Declaration of Prince Czartoryski to Lord G. L. Gower, dated St. Petersburg, 28th July, (9th Aug.), 1805.*

The undersigned, Joint-Minister for Foreign Affairs, being authorised to that effect by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, declares to his Exc. the Ambassador, Lord G. L. Gower, as follows:—1. The undersigned has this day exchanged with his Exc. the Ambassador of Austria, the declarations, of which copies are hereto annexed.—2. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, expects that the ambassador of England will agree, in the name of his Court, without reserve to their contents; and that if he do not consider himself sufficiently authorised thereto, he will express, in a formal declaration, the several points to which he can immediately assent.—3. The undersigned is authorised to exchange this

declaration against that which shall be delivered to him by his Exc. Lord G. L. Gower.

—The present declaration, and that delivered in return by the ambassador of England, which are to be in the place and to have the validity of the most solemn act, shall be ratified by the respective Sovereigns, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg in the shortest possible term.—In faith of which, the undersigned Joint-Minister for Foreign Affairs has signed the present declaration, has caused to be affixed to it the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his Exc. the Ambassador of England. Done at St. Petersburg, the 28th of July, 1805. ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

No. II. (E.)—*Declaration signed by his Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and delivered to Prince Czartoryski and to Count de Stadion, 9th Aug. 1805.*

The undersigned Ambassador Extr. and Plenip. of his Brit. Maj., having been invited by his Exc. the Prince Czartoryski, Joint Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Count de Stadion, Ambassador Extr. and Plenip. of his Imperial Royal and Apostolic Maj. to accede to the declarations reciprocally exchanged between the two Imperial Courts on this day, the 9th of August, in virtue of his full powers, declares as follows:—The several observations and proposals expressed by the Court of Vienna, in the preliminary declaration delivered by the Vice Chancellor of the Court and State, the Count de Cobenzel, to the Ambassador Count Razoumofsky, on the 7th of July, and in the *Mémoire Raisonné* of the 21st of July, are assumed by his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the three Courts of London, Vienna, and Petersburg, and the modifications proposed therein, for the regulation of the affairs of the Continent, are in like manner adopted, in case there should be reason to hope that war may be avoided by the means of negotiation.—The British ambassador, while he declares that his positive instructions preclude him from acceding to the pecuniary demands of the Court of Vienna, engages in the name of his Sovereign, that the monthly subsidies agreed to by the concert of the 30th March (11th April), shall be payable from the 1st of Oct. 1805: he engages likewise to advance, with the least possible delay, the equivalent of five months subsidies, under the head of *Première mise en Campagne*, with the express condition, that his Brit. Maj. may reclaim whatever payments shall have been made in

favour of his Imperial and Royal Maj. beyond the million stipulated by the 11th additional article of the above-mentioned treaty, whether as *Première mise en Campagne*, or as current subsidy, in case that the negotiations, which are about to be set on foot with the French government, do not terminate in war.—He declares, moreover, that if the said negotiations shall not be brought to a conclusion before the 31st day of December, 1805, the expiration of the first three months shall be the term of the payments, which are to be continued monthly, until the commencement of hostilities.—His Imperial and Royal Maj. having engaged to embody an armed force of not less than 320,000 men, the undersigned consents, that the advances to be made, under the head of *Première mise en Campagne*, shall be paid according to this calculation, with this condition nevertheless, that if, contrary to all expectation, the Austrian armies do not amount to the force above specified, his Brit. Maj. may deduct from this payment a sum proportionate to the numbers that are wanting.—The British ambassador cannot consent to the modifications and demands contained in the paper, intitled, “Remarks on some particular objects of the Convention, signed between the Courts of Petersburg and of London, the 30th of March, (1st of April)” of this year; as he has hitherto received no instructions from his Court, which authorise him to accede to such demands.—The British ambassador accepts the accession of his Maj. the Emperor and King, under the conditions specified in the preliminary declarations exchanged this day between the plenipotentiaries of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, with this formal reservation, that this acceptance shall not be considered as valid, nor the above-mentioned engagements obligatory, unless the Court of Vienna shall, on their side, conform themselves to the whole of the stipulations of the said act.—The undersigned, in delivering to his Exc. Prince Czartoryski (Count de Stadion) the present preliminary declaration which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn treaty, is authorised to announce to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately on these bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the Court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March (11th April).—These presents shall be ratified by the respective Courts, in the shortest possible term.—In witness whereof, the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his Brit. Maj., has signed the present preliminary declaration, and has affixed thereto the seal of his arms. Done

at St. Petersburg, the 28th July (9th Aug.), 1805. (L.S.) G. L. GOWER

No. III.—*Preliminary and Secret Convention between his Maj. and the King of Sweden, signed at Stockholm, 3d Dec. 1804.*

His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of Gt. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, being animated with a mutual desire to strengthen and draw closer the ties of friendship and harmony, which so happily exist between the two Courts, having thought proper, with this view, to regulate, by a preliminary and secret convention, certain points of their mutual interests, relative to the present situation of affairs; their said Majesties have named for that purpose, his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, the Sieur Henry Pierrepont his Envoy Extr. and Minister Plenip., and his Maj. the King of Sweden, the Sieur Frederick d'Ehrenheim, President of his Chancery, and Commander of his Order of the Polar Star, who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—Art. I.—His Brit. Maj., in order to enable his Swedish Maj. more effectually to provide for the defence of Stralsund, against any attack whatever on the part of the French, engages to pay, once for all, the sum of 60,000*l.* sterling, which is to be appropriated solely to that purpose; this sum shall be remitted in three payments, at the interval of a month between each, the first of which is to become due upon the ratifications of this convention being exchanged.—Art. II. His Maj. the King of Sweden engages, so long as the war between Sweden and France continues, or during the space of 18 months for the least, to permit the establishment of a depot in Swedish Pomerania, either at Stralsund, or in the island of Rugen, or in both those places, for the corps of Hanoverians, which his Brit. Maj. shall be desirous of raising there.—Art. III. The officers appointed to raise the said levies, shall be allowed to clothe, arm, and victual them, to form them into battalions, and to remove them out of Swedish Pomerania into such places, and in such proportions, as his Brit. Maj. shall judge proper.—Art. IV. The stipulations of the two preceding articles being founded on the principle that Sweden is actually a declared belligerent party, it is understood that the said articles II. and III. are to be suspended in their operations until his Swedish Maj. shall find himself, by the return of the open season, in a situation to send additional reinforcements into Pomerania, insomuch that no measure relative to these dispositions can be

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adopted before that time.—Art. V. His Maj. the King of Sweden engages, moreover, to grant to the subjects of his Brit. Maj. during the continuance of the war between G. Brit. and France, the right of an *entrepôt* at Stralsund, for all the articles of the growth, produce, and merchandize, as well of G. Brit. as of her Colonies, shipped in British or Swedish vessels. All such articles intended for re-exportation, whether by sea or land, shall only pay a duty of three quarters per cent. *ad valorem*; and those for consumption, such duties only as are actually established at the port of Stralsund with respect to the most favoured nations. A more detailed arrangement of this branch of commerce, as likewise of other points whereby the commercial interests of the two nations might be more closely connected, is to be reserved for a particular act.—Art. VI. His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, mutually engage to ratify the present act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of its signature. In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of our respective Sovereigns, have signed the present convention, and have thereunto affixed the seals of our arms. Done at Stockholm, the 3d of Dec. 1804. (Was signed) HENRY PIERREPONT. F. D'EHRENHEIM.

No. IV.—Convention between his Maj. and the King of Sweden, signed at Helsingborg, the 31st Aug. 1805.

His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, animated with equal desire to contribute, by all the means which Providence has placed at their disposal, to put an end to the misfortunes which disturb the peace of Europe, and particularly convinced of the urgency of securing the fortified places in the North of Germany against all hostile enterprise, have agreed to enter into stipulations for that purpose, by a separate Convention, in addition to the preliminary and secret one concluded between them on the 3d of December last; for which purpose, Their said Majesties have chosen and named for their Plenipotentiaries, viz. His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, the Honourable Henry Pierrepont, His Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenip. with His Swedish Maj. and His Maj. the King of Sweden, the Sieur John Christopher Baron de Toll, a Lord of the Kingdom of Sweden, Governor-General of the Duchy of Scania, General of Cavalry in

his Armies, Chief of the Regiment of Carbineers of Scania, Knight and Commander of his Orders, and Knight of all the Russian Orders, who have agreed upon the following articles:—Art. 1. The Preliminary and Secret Convention concluded between the two Sovereigns on 3d Dec. 1804 is renewed, and shall continue in full force and validity during the period hereinafter specified in Art. VII.

—Art. II. His Maj. the King of G. Britain, conceiving that the object stated in the preamble, cannot be more completely attained with respect to Swedish Pomerania, than by maintaining the Fortress of Stralsund in a respectable state of defence, in order to preserve a rallying point and place of retreat for the forces of the Allied Powers, and especially for the troops of the Emperor of all the Russias, in case his Imperial Majesty should be desirous of landing his forces at that place, in order to co-operate in the general plan, engages to pay monthly the sum of 1800*l.* sterling for every 1000 men of regular troops, with which his Swedish Maj. shall reinforce the usual garrison of the City of Stralsund.—Art. III. A garrison of 8000 men in the whole, being deemed sufficient for the defence of this place, and the usual garrison, including the Burgher Militia, amounting to upwards of 4000, it is understood, that the reinforcement spoken of in the preceding Article, shall not exceed 4000 men of regular troops, so that the Subsidies to be furnished by His Maj. the King of G. Britain, will amount to the sum of 7,200 pounds sterling per month.—Art. IV. The payment of the above-mentioned Subsidies shall be made before the end of every month, and shall be computed from the first day of July last, for the Swedish troops, amounting to 1500 men, actually in Stralsund, and for the reinforcements which may arrive there, from the day of landing.—Art. V. The two high contracting parties not having been able to agree upon the expenses of transport, His Maj. the King of Sweden, desirous of affording a convincing proof of his wish to contribute to the success of the common cause, engages to be at the sole charge of conveying to Pomerania the troops which are to be sent there, in pursuance of the present convention, and not to require any thing for their return.—Art. VI. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias having signified his desire to land a part of his troops in Pomerania, His Swedish Maj. engages, in consequence of the present convention, to afford every facility in his power to such disembarkation and moreover to enter into particular stipulations with his Imperial Maj. on that head.

—ART. VII. As the conditions of the obligations contained in the Articles II. and III. of the Preliminary and Secret Convention, limit the enjoyment of the privileges therein granted to the King of G. Britain, to the duration of the war between Sweden and France, or to the period of eighteen months for the least, and his Britannic Maj. not having availed himself of the stipulations of the above-mentioned two articles, His Maj. the King of Sweden engages to extend them as long as the subsidies fixed by the present Convention, shall be discharged by G. Brit. and whilst that Power shall continue the war against France, in conjunction with Russia.

—ART. VIII. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged at Stockholm, within six weeks, or sooner, if possible.—In witness, whereof, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our powers, have signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at Helsinborg, the 31st of Aug. 1805. (Was signed) HENRY PIERREFONT. J. C. BARON DE TOLL.

No. IV. (A.)—*Act of Guarantee by the Emperor of Russia of the Convention signed at Helsinborg, on the 3d of Dec. 1804.*

A convention having been concluded this day, by the intervention of his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, between his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, to provide for the reinforcement of the garrison of Stralsund, in pursuance of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of Dec. 1804; the two high contracting parties have amicably requested his Imperial Maj. to consent to guarantee the execution of so desirable an object. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias has accordingly willingly agreed to a measure which tends solely to so salutary an end; and having thereunto furnished us with his full powers, we, the undersigned Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenip. of his Imperial Maj. declare and assure by this present act, in virtue of our full powers, that his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias guarantees the convention, which has been signed this day, between his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, in all its extent, as well with the two separate articles which are annexed to it, and which form part of the same, as of all other conditions, clauses, and stipulations, which are contained therein, in the best possible form; and that his Imperial Maj. will cause to be forwarded and delivered, the particular ratifications of this act of guarantee.—In faith of which, we have signed the present act, and have

caused the seal of our arms to be thereto affixed, and have exchanged it against the acts of acceptance; as shall be likewise exchanged the ratifications of the present act against the ratifications of the said acts of acceptance, in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible. Done at Helsinborg this 31st day of Aug. 1805. D. ALOPUS.

No. IV. (B.)—*Acceptance by his Maj. of the Russian Guarantee to the Treaty of Helsinborg, of 31st Aug. 1805.*

A convention having been concluded this day, by the intervention of his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, between his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, to provide for the reinforcement of the garrison of Stralsund, in pursuance of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of Dec. 1804; and his said Imperial Maj. having also granted, at the request of the high contracting parties, a guarantee to all the stipulations contained in the said convention, the undersigned, Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenip. of his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, receives with acknowledgement the act of guarantee which has been delivered to him this day, in the name of his Imperial Maj. of all the Russias, by his Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenip., and declares, at the same time that his Brit. Maj. will cause to be forwarded and delivered, the ratification of this act of acceptance.—In faith of which, the undersigned Minister Plenip. has signed this present act, and has caused the seal of his arms to be thereto affixed, and has exchanged it against the act of guarantee above mentioned; as shall also be exchanged, the ratifications of the present act against the ratifications of the said act of guarantee within the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible. Done at Helsinborg this 31st day of Aug. 1805. (Signed) HENRY PIERREFONT.

No. IV. (C.)—*First Separate Article of the Convention of Helsinborg, signed 31st Aug. 1805.*

His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, have agreed by the present separate and additional article, that the subsidies fixed by the second and third articles of the convention signed this day, shall continue to be paid by G. Brit. during the continuance of the war between that power and France, conjointly with Russia, or as long as the state of affairs and the operations of the allies, shall require that the fortress of Stralsund be kept in a respectable state of defence, unless the two high contracting parties shall mutually consent to the cessation

of such subsidies. In both cases, if the term of their payment should happen when the sea is innavigable. His Brit. Maj. engages, nevertheless, to continue their payment, according to the same rate theretofore, till the day of the return of the Swedish troops into Pomerania, which shall take place by the earliest opportunity.—This separate article shall have the same force and validity if it were inserted, word for word, in the convention signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In faith of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.—Done at Helsingborg, the 31st day of Aug. 1805.—Signed HENRY PIERREPONT. T. E. BARON DE TOLL.

No. IV. (D)—*Second separate Article of the Convention of Helsingborg, signed the 31st of Aug. 1805.*

The Hanoverian troops, which (in pursuance of the stipulations of the second and third art. of the secret and preliminary convention, of the 3d Dec. 1804, renewed by the seventh art. of the present convention), may be hereafter assembled in Swedish Pomerania, shall continue, as long as they remain in that province, under the supreme orders of the commander-in-chief of the united forces, without any violation of the rights established in the three above-mentioned articles.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity, as it were inserted, word for word, in the convention signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In faith of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have caused the seal of our arms to be there-to affixed.—Done at Helsingborg, this 31st day of Aug. 1805.—Signed HENRY PIERREPONT.—T. E. BARON DE TOLL.

No. V.—*Treaty between His Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed at Beckascog, 3d of Oct. 1805.*

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity!—His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and His Maj. the King of Sweden, in pursuance of the ties of friendship and good understanding by which they are at present so happily united, desirous of establishing a more direct communication upon every thing which relates to the present war, which the French govt. has excited against several powers, by measures equally unjust and offensive, and by conducting itself upon principles incompatible with the security and tranquillity of every independent state; their said Majesties have judged proper to concert

together upon the means of opposing a sufficient barrier to the misfortunes which menace the whole of Europe. In consequence, they have chosen and named for their plenipotentiaries, namely, His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, the Hon. Henry Pierrepont, his Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenip. to His Swedish Maj.; and His Maj. the King of Sweden, the Sieur Christopher Baron de Toll, a lord of the kingdom of Sweden, Gov. Gen. of the Duchy of Scania, Gen. of Cavalry in his armies, Chief of the regiment of Carbineers of Scania, Knight and Commander of his Orders, and Knight of all the Russian Orders; who, after having communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—ART. 1. There shall be a perfect understanding, friendship, and alliance between His Brit. Maj. and His Maj. the King of Sweden.—ART. 2. The convention concluded between their said Majesties on the 31st of Aug. last, is hereby renewed, and shall remain in full force and validity, independent of the new stipulations contained in the present treaty.—ART. 3. His Maj. the King of Sweden, desirous of co-operating with effect towards the success of the general plan, engages to furnish a corps of troops, destined to act against the common enemy, in concert with the allies, and especially with the troops of His Imperial Maj. of all the Russias, which shall be landed in Pomerania. The number of Swedish troops employed for this purpose, shall be fixed, in every case, at 12,000 men.—ART. 4. His Brit. Maj. in order to facilitate to His Swedish Maj. the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the sentiments of zeal and interest, by which he is animated for the common cause, engages to furnish him an annual subsidy, at the rate of twelve pounds ten shillings sterling for every man; which subsidy shall be paid in equal proportions, at the end of each month.—ART. 5. His Brit. Maj. moreover engages, as a compensation for the expenses of assembling, equipping, and conveying the said troops, to furnish, under the head of putting them in motion, a sum equal to five months subsidy, to be calculated according to the scale laid down in the preceding art. and payable immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.—ART. 6. The two high contracting parties engage not to lay down their arms, nor to conclude peace with the common enemy, but by mutual consent; but, on the contrary, to remain firmly and inseparably united, as long as the war lasts, and until the conclusion of a general pacification.—ART. 7. In pursuance of the en-

gagements agreed upon between the two high contracting parties, by virtue of the preceding art. not to lay down their arms but by common consent. His Brit. Maj. engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until the end of the war.—ART. 8. His Brit. Maj. in order as well to cover the expenses of the return of the Swedish army, as of all other objects connected therewith, engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until three months after the peace.—ART. 9. His Brit. Maj. impressed with the importance of putting the fortress of Stralsund in the best possible state of defence, engages to place, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, at the disposal of His Swedish Maj. the additional sum of 50,000l. sterling for that purpose.—ART. 10. The present treaty shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in six weeks, or sooner, if possible.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our powers, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seals of our arms.—Done at Beckascog, the 3d Oct. 1805, (was signed) HENRY PIERREPONT. J. C. BARON DE TOLL.

PUBLIC PAPER.

HANOVER.—*Proclamation issued at Berlin, on the 27th of January, 1806, relative to the Occupation of the Electorate of Hanover.*

We, Frederick William, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, &c. &c. hereby make known, &c. After the events which have terminated in peace between Austria and France, all our endeavours have been directed to ward off from these districts the flames of war, and its disastrous consequences, which momentarily threatened the north Germany, and particularly the countries of the Electorate of Brunswick. With this view, and as the only possible means to attain it, a convention has been made and concluded between Us and the Emperor of the French, in pursuance of which, the states of His Britannic Majesty in Germany, will not be again occupied by French or other troops combined with them; and, till the conclusion of a general peace, will be wholly occupied and governed by us; in pursuance of which, we have caused the Brunswick Electoral countries to be occupied by the corps under the command of our General of Cavalry, Count Vonder Schu-

lenburg Keknert, to whom, in our name, and till the peace, we entrust the administration of the said countries, in such manner that, through him, and the Commission of Government which he may think proper to appoint, all affairs relating to the Government of the country may be transacted, and the necessary orders thereto communicated to the interior Magistracy and Magistrates.—We therefore charge, as well those, as the Prelates, Nobles, Citizens, and all subjects and inhabitants of the said country, without exception, to conform themselves duly to these dispositions made for their welfare; and also to the commands of our before-mentioned Commissaries of Administration, and the Commission by them to be appointed, as well with regard to civil as military affairs; not only not throwing any impediment in the way of our troops which are to march in, but to assist and afford them all the information in their power; and in the high or more general affairs of the country, and also in propositions and petitions thereto relating, alone and only to address themselves to the before-mentioned Commissaries of Administration, as standing highest under our immediate orders.—As by this measure we have in view the repose and tranquillity of the North of Germany and of the Brunswick States, so we have resolved to pay out of our Treasury, for the necessities for our troops, according to the peace establishment, and leaving the extraordinary expenses of a state of war to be defrayed by the country; while we, on the other hand, shall take care in general, that its revenues, during our administration, after deducting the expenses of Government, shall only be appropriated to its advantage.—We further promise, that our troops shall observe the strictest discipline; that attention shall be given to all just complaints; and, in general, that every quiet and peaceable inhabitant shall be maintained in his property and rights, and, in case of need, be vigorously protected: but that, on the contrary, those who may refuse to conform themselves to the dispositions concluded on, and the measures which may have been taken, or who may dare to counteract them in anywise, will have to reproach themselves for the rigid and disagreeable consequences which will unavoidably result to them. Given under the signature of our own hand, at Berlin, the 27th January, 1806. (L. S.) FREDERIC WILLIAM. VON HARDENBERG.